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ABSTRACT

This guide seeks to be a tool for action and a resource for understanding some of the key issues concerning Africa today. Through a series of six sessions, participants focus on a particular theme or issue that links their community with the African context. The six sessions focus on: (1) "Building Connections with Africa"; (2) "Culture Connections"; (3) "Economic Connections"; (4) "Issue Connections" (Children and Youth, Environment, Food and Hunger, Health); (5) "The Military Connection"; and (6) "Where Do We Go from Here?" Maps, recipes, historical timelines, and contact addresses with brief descriptions of regional organizations involved in work in Africa are included. (EH)

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Introductory Guide to Africa

Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

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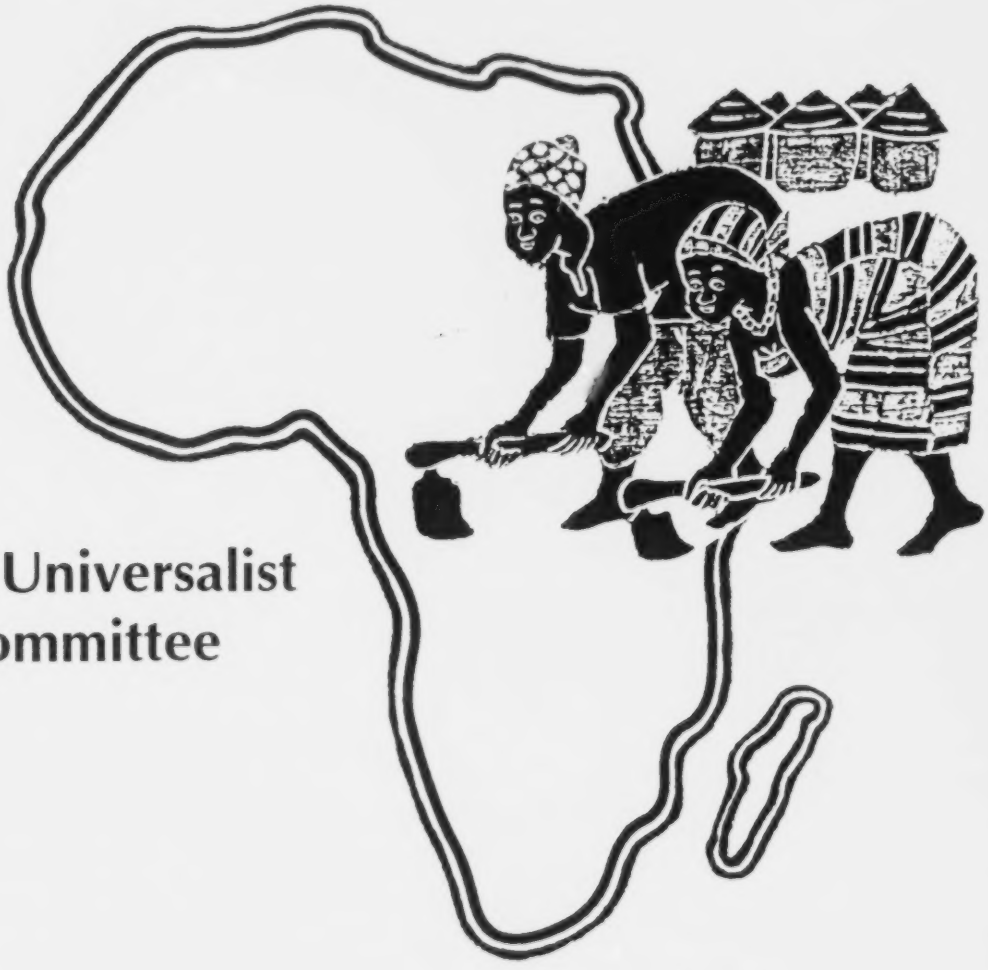
Introductory Guide to Africa



Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

developed in conjunction with UUSC's
Odyssey: from Alaska to Zimbabwe program

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Introductory Guide to Africa

Editor: Esther Wyss

Design and Production: Victoria A. Bolles

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with funding from USA for Africa

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Through its staff and nationwide network of volunteers, the Service Committee works for basic social change in the U.S., and for health, women's rights, economic development, and human rights in Central America, the Caribbean, India and Africa.

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World Map

UNITED STATES

Area in square kilometers (miles): 9,372,614 (3,670,245)
Climate: temperate
Capital (population): Washington, D.C. (638,432)
Population: 241,960,000
Life expectancy at birth: women 78 yrs., men 70.4 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births): 11.2
Languages: official: English; also: many others
Religion: 55% Protestant; 36% Roman Catholic; 4% Jewish
School-age population in school: 77%
Adult literacy rate: 76%
Government type: federal republic
Independence date: July 4, 1776, from Great Britain
Head of state: President George Bush
Per capita GNP: $15,541 (1987)
Natural resources: metallic and non-metallic minerals, petroleum, arable land
Agriculture: food grains, feed crops, oil-bearing crops, cattle, dairy products

AFRICA: a continent of 51 independent nations and 3 disputed territories

Area in square kilometers (miles): 30,323,000 (11,700,000)
Climate: tropical
Capital: n/a
Population: 650,000,000
Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births): 107
Languages: almost 2000
Religion(s): traditional indigenous; Muslim; Christian
School-age population in school: 44%
Adult literacy rate: 46%
Government type: 29 nations under military rule, 25 nations under other systems
Independence date: ranging from ancient times (Ethiopia) to 1989 (anticipated for Namibia)
Head of state: n/a
Per capita GNP: $699 (all of Africa); $370 (sub-Saharan Africa)
Natural resources: minerals, petroleum, arable land
Agriculture: food and cash crops, cattle, dairy products

THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA

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Foreword

by Richard S. Scobie
Executive Director, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has been working in partnership with the people of Africa for nearly 30 years. UUSC has supported community organizations involved in agriculture, health, family planning, water resource development and education in 13 African nations. Philosophies of development have changed over the years, along with the nature of the relationship between Africa and her neighbors and former colonizers to the North and West.

During the great drought of the early 1970s, UUSC began to address the linkages between economic and political decisions being made in the United States and the conditions being experienced in Africa. Now, after a dozen more years of work, we are ever more convinced of the importance of these links. Our lives and societies are more intertwined than the average North American knows or can easily accept.

This program of study and action is designed to help North Americans better understand the reality of modern Africa and the multiple ways in which our policies and practices have direct impact on the lives and well-being of peoples whose cultures very often pre-date our own by centuries. It is our hope that the experience of participants using these materials will enable them to both better understand realities of our relatedness and to be able to work more effectively for a more just world society.

Introduction

by Esther Wyss, Editor, National Coordinator, Odyssey: From Alaska to Zimbabwe

I was 13 years old when I first went to live in Ivory Coast, West Africa with my family. As a typical American teen-ager, my immediate reactions to moving to Africa were: "We'll have monkeys and lions in our backyard!" and "I won't have to go to school anymore!" At that time, years of Tarzan movies, National Geographic and Walt Disney specials, and a notion of African History that romanticized Europeans, such as Stanley, Livingstone, and Dr. Albert Schweizer, had left me with some firmly entrenched stereotypes about the so-called "Dark Continent".

Even today, geographical illiteracy, lack of and/or distortion of information by the media, racial prejudice, and cultural narrow-mindedness concerning Africa continue. They contribute to and reinforce stereotypes about Africa. Over the past few years, our stereotypes have evolved and been transformed. With the drought of the mid-1980s and reports of war and strife in Southern Africa and the Horn, unwittingly, we've grown to accept an image of Africans as victims of famine, and of Africa as a war-torn continent.

Reinforcement of such messages has allowed us to adopt an image of Africa as a "problem" continent in need of help. It has led us to accept United States intervention on the continent, such as military assistance to so-called "freedom fighters" who use terrorist methods against their people. The image has contributed to the development of a government policy towards Africa with practically no accountability to U.S. citizens. In some cases, the stereotypes have made it easier to justify U.S. corporate investment in South Africa, exploitation of resources and labor by multinational corporations, and U.S.-based manufacturers dumping toxic waste and pharmaceuticals on African people. We've managed to distance ourselves and depersonalize the 650 million people living in Africa.

In our tendency to oversimplify, we forget that Africa is a continent four times the size of the continental United States, and that it is composed of 54 different countries (this figure includes disputed territories). We forget that, in Africa, there are about two thousand different languages spoken; more than a thousand ethnic groups with indigenous political systems; an enormous wealth in literature, music, traditional medicines, arts and crafts; belief systems that have existed for thousands of years; vast reserves of natural resources and minerals; and a history that goes back further than that of any other continent to include the cradle of humanity.

The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee: 30 years of promoting programs in Africa.

With a philosophy grounded in liberal religious principles that affirm the supreme worth and dignity of every person, the interdependence of all people, and each individual's right to peace, justice, and freedom, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee rejects such stereotyping. UUSC philosophy calls us to act on behalf of people all over the world so that they can freely make decisions that control their daily lives. The Service Committee does this by helping people overcome institutions and policies that oppress them, by providing experiences that promote self-determination and human freedom, and by educating and mobilizing individuals and groups for service and action.

UUSC has consistently spoken out against the status-quo of development policy in Africa. Examples of UUSC presence in Africa have been the promotion of community health services in the People's Republic of Benin, medical assistance to hospitals in Eritrea, and training programs for young women in Senegal. UUSC works to break the cycle of poverty and hunger, and to build partnerships with African community leaders, rather than to foster dependencies.

Our rapidly changing world reminds us daily of global interdependence and our need not to compete, but to work together in a manner that is both ecologically sound and built on respect for all human beings. In its thirty-year history of promoting appropriate development in Africa, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has worked with many partners in Africa to build a stronger vision of such an interdependent world.

UUSC's African partners are keenly aware of the distorted images about Africa many non-Africans may have. Many times they have asked UUSC's International Programs staff: "Tell Americans what our lives are really like!"

Their concern has challenged us to come back and look at ourselves, and see the need to build understanding and advocacy on African issues among the Unitarian Universalist community and beyond. We must forge stronger, healthier links between U.S. and African communities, links that allow us to move between global understanding and local action. True local action can only be based on a vision that connects the community with a global reality. It was in this context that *Odyssey: From Alaska to Zimbabwe*, a program of community learning and action about Africa was conceived. The program is built on a philosophy of sharing, and the knowledge that the best way we can help Africans as well as ourselves is to take the time to learn from them and act on their behalf in our everyday lives in the United States.

History of the Program

On a pilot basis, in spring 1989, we asked ten activists from UUSC's social action Units to join in an effort to build an Africa agenda in five areas of the United States. These activists — called Harambee leaders — received training, materials, and UUSC support to establish local Harambee groups. (Harambee [pronounced: Ha-rám-bay] is a Swahili word literally meaning "Let's All Pull Together!" It refers to a popular movement in Kenya where communities organize meetings, pool resources and initiate self-help projects).

Harambee groups underwent a process of community inquiry to clarify explicit linkages between the local and the African context. Building on these linkages, they developed an action agenda. Together with other local initiatives, the groups are acting on issues that emerge from their inquiry. Such action include:

- planning an event (such as a boycott to oppose apartheid)
- setting up a resource center on African issues
- establishing a youth theater and education program about Africa at schools and churches
- inviting Africans to speak at community centers, nursing homes, and schools
- pressuring local authorities into adopting a divestment plan
- ensuring that information about Africa is included in local organizing work on racism, crime, environment, housing, AIDS, and U.S. military spending

The example of this pilot program has led us to develop and refine the *Introductory Guide to Africa* into a 6-session study program, to encourage others to join the network of people concerned about learning and acting on behalf of Africa.

About the *Introductory Guide to Africa*

This publication is a tool for action, a resource for understanding some of the key issues concerning Africa today. We have sought to provide you with up-to-date information on Africa. Although by no means exhaustive, the *Guide* provides an overview of the diversity of the continent. Whenever possible, we selected articles written by Africans to allow us to hear the voices of Africa rather than those of interpretations by non-Africans.

Six sessions guide participants through a logical series of activities, readings, and discussions designed to culminate in community action. Each session focuses participants' attention on a particular theme or issue that links their community with the African context. Other useful information contained in the *Guide* includes country maps with country-specific data for 54 nations and territories. The maps are followed by an historical timeline which notes some landmark dates in African history, by short descriptions of some of the most important regional organizations in Africa, by contact addresses in the U.S. for networking about African issues, and by a bibliography.

We hope that the information about Africa you're particularly interested in is easy to find and readable without being overly simplistic. In our mind, all issues are thought-provoking and relevant to our lives here in the United States, and should push the reader towards action and further research. We urge you to use the *Introductory Guide to Africa* to initiate action. Perhaps the publication can make a contribution to educating community leaders in the U.S. who will join our African sisters and brothers in the struggle for a more peaceful, healthier, and safer world.

Another UUSC publication is important to keep at hand. The *Busy Person's Guide to Social Action* provides necessary tips on how to organize a group, how to develop an agenda, and how to implement an action campaign.

Objectives for the Six-Session Program

Why should a community in the United States act on behalf of Africa — or, for that matter, even be interested in African issues? The African continent is far away; the culture and people are "different"; and, in our day and age, people have got plenty of problems in their own local area to take care of.

The purpose of the *Guide* is to show how what happens in Africa *is* vital to us. What happens in Africa *is*, in fact, our business from an economic, social, cultural, political, and humanitarian perspective. Learning about Africa helps us understand and gain a perspective on our own local issues, and act in the best interest of all humanity in our interdependent world. By providing ideas for activities in the *Guide*, we hope to clarify a process of discovery of linkages between a local community in the United States and Africa, and ultimately, to spark the Harambee spirit of self-help on the local level in the United States.

Two points for clarification: participating in the program does not necessarily mean raising money for Africa, which tends to be the "quick fix" response to a perceived problem. Harambee asks you to help yourself and others by learning about Africa and bringing the message home through greater awareness and local action.

Nor do we feel that the program is asking you to take on a new issue or a new agenda. Rather, we see that learning about Africa serves as a lens to look at the racism in our own communities, and as a reflection of issues that you and your community are already concerned about (such as health, environment, militarism, poverty and crime, food and hunger), issues that can only be enriched by an African perspective.

The sessions are meant to help groups build an action agenda for their own area. UUSC staff in Boston will provide supplementary information, advice, and support if necessary. The *Guide* seeks to follow the tradition voiced by a true global citizen, Margaret Mead: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

Acknowledgements

Many people have been integral to the realization of the *Introductory Guide to Africa*. It's a heartfelt privilege to have the opportunity to thank all those who have contributed time, advice, materials, insights, energy, and thought over the past year.

On-going encouragement and feedback from the Wyss family and just about everyone at UUSC were crucial morale-boosters. Lou Witherite, Director of UUSC's International Programs Department, and Natalie Zimmerman, former UUSC Units Coordinator, provided the initial vision to develop the program. UUSC staff integral to the program have been Mary Lania, Linda MacKay, Carlos Madrid, Steve Shick, Leora Zeitlin, and Charlie Zoeller.

Without funding by USA for Africa, this vision would have gone the way of so many dreams, and never seen the light.

Susan Rich and Adrienne Nicotra were an extraordinary team of editorial assistants: they buried themselves in piles of publications, collected materials, provided useful advice and provocative suggestions to the format of the publication, and wrote many of the sections of the pilot version of the *Guide*.

No valid materials can be developed without incorporating learning and inspiration from other programs piloted in the past. The Africa Peace Tour sponsored annually by the Africa Peace Committee along with other recent innovative development education programs represent a precedent important to the format of this book.

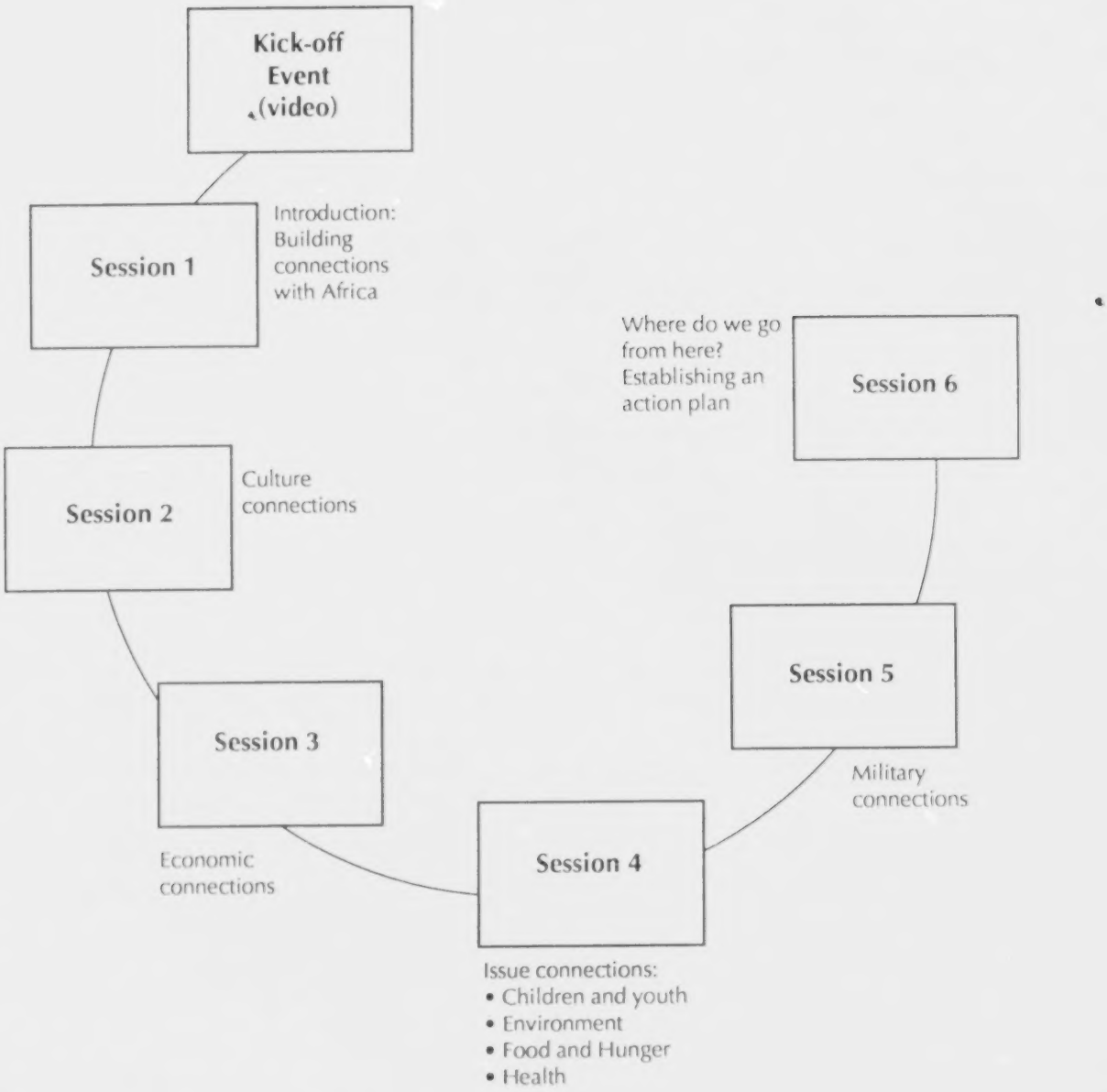
The numerous African colleagues, development education specialists, trainers, local and national community action groups in the Boston area and beyond who have provided support and inspiration in many different manners, include:

The Adult Programs Council, Unitarian Universalist Association; Karen Boatman, Boston University School of Education; Ron Chisom, People's Institute for Survival and Beyond; Kevin Danaher, Africa Exchange; Abdel Kader Galy, University of Niamey, Niger, West Africa; John Gaventa, Highlander Center; Tandi Gcabashe, American Friends Service Committee, Atlanta Office; Haddy Gebbidon, colleague from The Gambia, West Africa; Harambee leaders throughout the U.S.: Bob Allison, Ginnie Blocker, Patrick Feely, Tyna Fields, Marinda Harpole, Nancy Hartl, Linda Hendriksen, Kelly McHenry, Ben Sims, Lexi Truman, Clemmie Wiley, Logan Wiley; Jerry Herman, American Friends Service Committee, Southern Africa Office; John Huchison, Boston University African Studies Center; Barbara Major, People's Institute for Survival and Beyond; Maphiri Masekela, colleague from South Africa; Ginny Moore, UUSC Board of Directors; Nick Mottern, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers; Paul Mulloy, Massachusetts Global Education Program; James Oporia-Ekwaro, UUSC colleague from Uganda, East Africa; Reginald Petty, UUSC Board of Directors; Mark Rand, USA for Africa; Bill Rau, Bread for the World; Phyllis Robinson, Cambridge Community Development Department; Ficre Ghebreyesus, Tsehai Habtemariam, Karen Hauser, and Tekeste Seyoum, Eritrean Relief Committee; Jo Sullivan, Boston University African Studies Center Outreach Program; UUSC Unit Co-Chairs in Boston, Cinncinati, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Washington D.C.; Syl Whitaker, UUSC Board of Directors; Loretta Williams, former Director, UUA Department of Social Justice.

All articles appearing in the *Introductory Guide to Africa* have been reprinted with permission. I would like to thank the many authors, publishing houses, journals, periodicals, information centers, and clearinghouses for allowing us to use their materials, making this publication possible. Copyrights appear on every reprinted article, as well as in the bibliography in the back of the *Guide*. I urge everyone to look at the sources from which the passages have been excerpted.

In our life-long role as learners and actors on this planet, may all of us join hands and take the time to understand the words of Africans such as Julius Nyerere, ex-president of Tanzania: "The significance of the division between rich and poor is not simply that one man has more food than he can eat, more clothes than he can wear, and more houses than he can live in, while others are hungry, unclad or homeless ... The reality and depth of the problem arises because the man who is rich has power over the lives of those who are poor, and the rich nation has power over the policies of those who are not rich. And even more important is that a social and economic system, nationally and internationally, supports these divisions, and constantly increases them so that the rich get even richer and more powerful while the poor get relatively even poorer and less able to control their own future..."

Program Overview



Facilitating the Group

A group undertaking this program is ideally composed of 10-12 participants, representing a diversity of skills and ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. As a group, participants should be willing and committed to learning about Africa, studying their local community, and examining linkages with Africa.

For any group to become a real "group," there needs to be a voiced common interest that binds people together. In the case of the program participants, the shared interest is the desire to learn and "do something" about Africa and how the continent relates to their own community. The group facilitator, therefore, should encourage participants to get to know each other, and build up the spirit of trust and teamwork. The advice below is designed to help you get started as group facilitator.

Designating a Facilitator

The person (or persons) who facilitates this study group does not have to be an expert on Africa. The group should decide whether one person will lead all the sessions, whether a system of co-facilitators should be set up, or whether individual members of the group should rotate the facilitator function among themselves on a voluntary basis.

Know the course outline. Familiarity with the materials and the outline of activities you will cover in the current and subsequent sessions will enable you to sense when you can go into a topic in more depth and when you need to move on.

Continuity

Plan to be at all sessions. Continuity is important in building group cohesiveness. If you are coleading and must be absent, let the group know in advance. Whenever a group leader is absent, interrelationships must be rebuilt. This process cannot be circumvented.

Setting and Preparation

Arrange for a comfortable, attractive meeting space appropriate to the size of the group. The physical setting contributes greatly to harmonious interactions among participants. If a change in the meeting place become necessary, let the group know in advance.

Plan to arrive before the group members and have all equipment and materials ready for the session. This helps participants feel comfortable and contributes to an organized, relaxed flow in the seminar process.

Try to keep the order of the suggested activities, but be flexible and alter if it seems advisable. Use the readings, the session guidelines, and videos that have been suggested in order to get the discussion and learning process going, but, don't feel compelled to follow every suggestion made. It's your process; feel free to make adjustments in it as you see fit. Consider it a guide, not a straitjacket.

Length of Sessions

Begin and end the session on time. Each session will take about 2 hours. Emphasize to participants the need for punctuality at each session.

Beware of time constraints, and set a time limit for the activities within a session. A good device to keep the sessions moving is to appoint a member among the group as the timekeeper for the evening.

Participation

Ask group members to let you know if they expect to be late or to miss a session. Urge everyone to be at all sessions. The value of the experience is significantly diminished for all participants if members drop in and out of the program. In addition, absences raise questions and concerns about the well-being of the absent person. A group does not function effectively if there are questions about a member's absence.

Breaks

Plan a ten-minute break at approximately the middle of each session. Schedule it at the end of an activity, where there is a natural breaking point.

Group-Building

Get to know each member of your group and help members to get to know one another. Taking time to build group rapport and trust is an essential component of every session. It can be helpful at the beginning of each session to invite participants to recount an experience in the past week that saddened or gladdened them, or to share a personal observation with the group.

Also, don't forget to have some fun and leave time for laughter. Enthusiasm won't come just from the facts you'll learn, but also from the spirit of mutual support and respect that will come from the experience of getting to know and trust a new group of people who share a common concern about Africa and their own community.

Communications

Be especially conscious of the need to balance input by group members. Try to get everyone to make some contribution to the evening's discussion and make sure that no one person monopolizes the group.

Be sure that insights and learnings arrived at by the group are gathered and given expression, and that personal sharings are honored in some way. Provide a time in each session when this can be done or use the opening and closing activities, where appropriate, to accomplish this. Support group trust by encouraging participants to keep confidential what has been shared in the group. No one wants his or her story told elsewhere.

Sensitivity

Be sensitive to the potential emotional impact of the material on participants. Strong emotions may surface. Give yourself and the other person time and room to express them. Decide how to act when participants become emotional. Do not confuse support with agreement. You may support a person in his or her grief, fear, or anger and be critical about what he or she does with it. Ask questions, use your intuition, challenge assumptions, and make suggestions.

Seek a balance in your own participation. This balance is dynamic. Encouraging others' participation is usually more fruitful than inadvertently being the one everyone turns to as the "expert."

Session Follow-Up

Take notes or keep a journal of the events in each session: the kinds of experiences related, the insights learned, what seemed to excite participants most. Use this information to help you plan later sessions and to remind the group from time to time of the journey they have undertaken.

The following brief checklist may also help the facilitator evaluate the quality of a given session:

- ❑ An agenda is prepared prior to the meeting.
- ❑ Meeting participants have an opportunity to contribute to the agenda.
- ❑ Advance notice of meeting time and place is provided to those invited.
- ❑ Meeting facilities are comfortable and adequate for the number of participants. Hanging a banner or poster, arranging literature is helpful.
- ❑ The meeting begins and ends on time.
- ❑ The use of time is monitored throughout the meeting.
- ❑ Everyone has an opportunity to present his or her point of view.
- ❑ Participants listen attentively to each other.
- ❑ There are periodic summaries as the meeting progresses.
- ❑ No one tends to dominate the discussion.
- ❑ Everyone has a voice in decisions made at the meeting.
- ❑ The meeting typically ends with a summary of accomplishments.
- ❑ The meeting is periodically evaluated by participants.
- ❑ People can be depended upon to carry out any action agreed to during the meeting.
- ❑ People can be counted on to attend each meeting.
- ❑ When used, audiovisual equipment is in good working condition and does not detract from the meeting.
- ❑ Guest speakers are briefed beforehand about the audience, agenda and equipment.
- ❑ Remember to bring registration sheets, pens, name tags, thumb tacks, newsprint, tape, handouts, and other supplies suggested for each session.

(Guidelines were adapted from the curriculum guide to *How Open the Door?* , produced by the Unitarian Universalist Association, and from UUSC's *Journey to Understanding.* The checklist was adapted from Marion Haynes, *Effective Meeting Skills.* California: Crisp Publications, 1988.)

The Kick-off Event

Some people wanting to undertake this program may already have a group of participants lined up; some may have to recruit group members. A kick-off event is ideal for getting your group started, and encourages broader participation. The key to "selling" the program to others is to help participants recognize that it is both fun and interesting to find out about the linkages between their community and the African context.

This study program asks participants to address and question some of the stereotypes that have traditionally engulfed U.S. understanding of Africa. Two videos from the "Consuming Hunger" series provoke audiences to take a hard look at the U.S. television and media culture surrounding hunger and poverty.

Therefore, as a kick-off event, show the 29 minute video "Shaping the Image" (avail-able from UUSC's Citizen Action Department). It documents hunger in Ethiopia and the U.S., and how television shapes our thoughts and feelings about hunger and responses to it.

"Shaping the Image" shows what happened to the images of starving Africans once they became part of our television culture, and includes some scathing criticism of the stereotyping by UUSC colleague James Oporia-Ekwaro. (You can purchase the video for $19.95 from the Maryknoll World Video Library Maryknoll, NY 10545 (914) 941-7590.)

Also read pp. 1-15 ("Getting Started", "Getting your Story out," and "How to get a Good Turnout") from *The Busy Person's Guide to Social Action* for additional suggestions on launching a program.

Announce the Event

Invite people to the video screening and to join the program through a leaflet, a flyer, a press release, or an announcement in the local papers and public radio station (see sample invitation on page 15). Here are a few ideas of people and places to go to get a group started:

- personal connections, friends
- your workplace
- local government officials
- schools, colleges and universities
- churches and other religious institutions
- public bulletin boards in libraries and other public offices
- community-based and social-service organizations
- unions, city-wide organizations and coalitions advocating a global perspective
- financial and business communities (especially those with international interests

Use a Sign-up Sheet

As people enter the room on the day of the screening, be sure to have them sign an attendance sheet, include columns for name, address and day and evening phone numbers, so that they can be contacted later when additional Africa events are held.

Have Literature Available

In order to get the educational process going, prepare a literature table with copies of the *Introductory Guide to Africa* and other Africa literature (books, newsletters, journals) on it. Distribute photocopies of the Africa Fact Sheet (on page 16) to the audience.

Distribute Flyers

Make up a flyer announcing the day, time and place of the first group session, as well as the telephone number of someone who can be contacted for more information about it. You might also want to include an enrollment coupon with space for name, address and phone numbers, which could be collected after the video or be sent in later by those who aren't ready to sign up on that night.

Outline the Program and Answers Questions

The organizer of the screening (or someone else) should describe the six-session study course to the audience once the film is shown. Give details as to when and where the first session will be held. It should be scheduled for a few weeks after the kick-off event. Explain that the goal of the course is not to indoctrinate participants with a particular point of view, but to provide them with an opportunity to read and discuss a variety of information representing various points of view on Africa in a supportive and relaxed atmosphere. Potential participants should be encouraged to participate so that they can become better informed on Africa, and ultimately more directly involved in related lobbying or public education efforts.

After the course is outlined, volunteers should pass out sign-up flyers or index cards for anyone interested in signing up for the course. Those in attendance should also be asked to post flyers in appropriate spots to help get the word out that the course will be starting.

Be sure to contact those who do sign up in advance to remind them of the first session and to encourage their attendance. It is important to get a least five people to commit themselves to the group (ten to twelve is ideal). One way to ensure attendance and to build group responsibility is to assign participants to make presentations or to bring refreshments.

Program of Community Learning and Action about Africa

Funded by USA for Africa and sponsored by the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

In Africa, millions of people suffer from poverty, hunger, unemployment and illiteracy. Millions of Americans also suffer from those problems. How are the underlying causes in both places similar? How are they related?

In both Africa and the United States, people are organizing their communities to solve these problems and improve living conditions. Exploring the links between Africa and the United States can help us discover not only what we have in common, but also how we can work together in our interdependent world.

The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee invites you to:

- undertake a special kind of safari and learn about the African continent — its people, cultures, politics, and policies on health, agriculture, international debt, education, militarization, refugees, population
- join a nationwide movement of concerned citizens learning more about U.S. involvement in Africa
- explore global interdependence, and the links of your communities to Africa
- act on racism and issues of concern in your own community (such as homelessness, poverty, AIDS, military aid, minority and women's rights)

How do I join?

Come see a short video from the "Consuming Hunger" series, which asks us to look at the U.S. television culture surrounding hunger and poverty in Africa. "Shaping the Image" shows how images of starving Africans became part of our television culture, and includes some criticism of the stereotyping by UUSC colleague James Oporia-Ekwaro.

Screening Date: **Place:** **Time:**

At the showing, you will learn some astounding facts about Africa, and meet other people interested in finding out more about Africa and how it relates to issues of concern in our own communities.

If you can't come, but would like to be informed about Africa-related events in your area, contact:

_____ at ( )_____ _____
(Name) (Telephone)

See you there!

Africa Fact Sheet

- Scientists report that genetic findings link every person now on earth to a common human ancestor — a woman, known as "Lucy," who lived in Africa 3 to 3.5 million years ago.
- In 1323, Mansa Moussa, ruler of Mali, traveled to Mecca in present-day Saudi Arabia with as many as 60,000 camels, each carrying a bag of gold dust.
- Africa includes more than 1,000 ethnic groups speaking almost 2,000 separate languages .
- Military spending is encouraged by sales and aid from the United States, China, France, Israel, and the Soviet Union.
- Of the 24 African nations affected by famine in the past 5 years, 21 are under military rule.
- Women perform as much as 80% of food production work in Africa, as well as most household work and child care; traditional development aid projects have bypassed them because they are considered consumers, not producers.
- The African environment ranges from arid deserts and rolling plains to tropical rain forests to glacier-capped mountains. Throughout history, African peoples have adapted to all of these conditions.
- Centuries before the discovery of the "new world", Africa had thriving cities that were centers of trade, scholarship, and technology.
- African "griots" (village folk singers/historians) tell stories that have come down through their families for over seven centuries.
- Africans were among the first people to learn how to write. They began by carving hieroglyphics — pictures on stone — and later inventing a form of alphabet.
- 5 to 10 million people live as refugees in Africa.
- Research and experience show that providing education for women can reduce infant mortality and slow population growth rates, yet fewer than 50% of African girls go to primary school and fewer still continue on to secondary school.
- By organizing cooperatives for food production, health care, and marketing, African women in many communities are becoming more independent and productive.
- Africa has heavily influenced the rhythms and movements of American music and dance, and artworks such as those of Picasso and Mondrian.
- Health conditions and health care are worse in Africa than in any other region in the world, with wide-ranging effects. For example, a Nigerian farmer may be incapacitated for 15-20 weeks of the year by malaria. Thus he may not produce enough food to support a family, even if all other conditions are favorable.
- In international trade in the 1980s, the deck is stacked against Africa: total profits from African exports in 1982 were enough to pay for imports for 27 days. That leaves 338 days of debt.

Session 1: Building Connections with Africa

Goal: To introduce the participants to the program

Activities:

- Participants get to know each other and share their Africa-related interests and experiences.
- They do a series of exercises to recognize basic connections between communities in the United States and in Africa.
- They read three short passages that identify the dominant themes of the study program.
- They receive an overview of the study program.
- They set the agenda and designate responsibilities for Session 2.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- enough copies of the *Introductory Guide to Africa* for all participants (otherwise there should be photocopies of the readings, mapping and connections exercises for all group participants)
- easel and newsprint (or similar contraption) to mark down overview of program, participants' questions, responsibilities as needed
- a pad of paper to write down people's names, addresses, and phone numbers
- a notebook to compile list of Africa resources in the area
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- name tags, thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- refreshments (preferably something of African origin)

Session Outline:

1. **Why are we here? (20 minutes)**

   As they arrive, participants prepare name tags, pick up and pay for their copies of the *Introductory Guide to Africa*, and complete a sign-up sheet. Participants then share their interest in learning more about Africa. The group facilitator can stimulate discussion with questions such as:

   - What brings all of us together?
   - What Africa-related experiences or interests do you have?
   - What would you like to learn more about concerning Africa?
   - What preconceptions about Africa do we have in the U.S.?

2. **Mapping the African Continent (10 minutes)**

   One of the first challenges in learning about Africa is to situate the continent on the world map. The facilitator introduces the mapping exercise on page 20. He or she also refers participants to the map of Africa on page 2 and the section with maps and basic data on all African countries in the *Introductory Guide to Africa* (pages 201-227). This information allows participants to identify individual countries as they encounter them during sessions and in the readings.

3. **Our Common Struggle (10 minutes)**

   Another step in learning about Africa is addressing our tendency to distance the continent from our daily lives here in the United States. There are key commonalities between the struggles within our own communities and those in Africa. Many of the dynamics of domestic struggles with poverty, health, and hunger are mirrored by those of families and communities on the African continent. The exercise on page 22 encourages participants to recognize these similarities.

4. **Why learn more about Africa? (30 minutes)**

   Three short readings have been reprinted in Session 1 (pages 26-28) to introduce the major themes that will guide us throughout the program.

   - The first reading presents the conditions of injustice and violence against the innocent in Mozambique, Southern Africa.
   - The second passage highlights Africa from a historical perspective, and asks why the mainstream population in the U.S. is not informed about African history.
   - The final reading, a short passage by Zora Neale Hurston, evokes the theme of racism. Integral to this program is recognizing the importance of understanding domestic U.S. racism and the African American culture in learning about Africa.

Questions for discussion after readings: Why should we learn more about Africa? How is this our moral responsibility?

5. **A program overview (10 minutes)**

   The facilitator is encouraged to refer to the description of the program in the Introduction of this publication (page 4) in presenting this overview.

6. **On-going assignments for participants (10 minutes)**

   A network of African resources exists in just about every region of the United States. Identifying this network over the course of this six-session program can be useful in providing information, eye-witness testimony, and concrete examples of Africa. The facilitator designates participants willing to:

   - compile a list of African resources in the area. This means keeping track of:
     1) people (African students, teachers, scholars, and others who have travelled and worked in Africa)
     2) the local network of African arts, culture, crafts, theater, film
     3) area organizations and coalitions (non-profit groups and businesses) that have agendas involving Africa
     4) the bookstores, libraries, universities, and colleges with journals, periodicals, books, literature, non-fiction, etc. on Africa
   - collect articles for a scrapbook on media coverage of Africa (clippings should be shared on a bulletin board at each session). The messages a community receives about Africa can either reinforce stereotypes about life on the continent, or help break them and introduce a more empowering perception of the relationship of interdependence between Africa and the United States. (Please turn to page 24, *Africa and the U.S. Media*, for more information).
   - look for up-coming Africa-related events (speakers, movies, exhibits, festivals, etc.) There should be announcement time at every session.

7. **Setting the agenda for Session 2: Culture Connections (10 minutes)**

   Before leaving, all participants should know what their responsibilities are. They should:

   - set a time, place and duration for Session 2
   - designate (a) facilitator(s) if necessary
   - assign reading of the overview of the articles for Session 2 to all participants.
   - designate participants responsible for reporting on certain readings, if all participants aren't able to read all the articles for Session 2
   - nominate person(s) who will bring African-style refreshments (see pages 233-235, "A Taste of Africa," for selected recipes) to the next meeting
   - those who have cultural items from Africa should bring them to the next meeting, and be prepared to talk about them

Activities and Readings for Session 1

Mapping the African Continent

Most of us are familiar with the world map known as the Mercator Projection — this is the same map we had hanging on classroom walls in school as we were growing up. It was developed in the 1600s to provide European sailors with a clearer perception of navigational distances. The Mercator Projection, however, fails to accurately portray the size and proportions of the various land masses on our planet. It wasn't until the early 1970s that the Peters Projection was developed, and is now being popularized. Its advantage is that it accurately reflects the size and proportions of the continents.

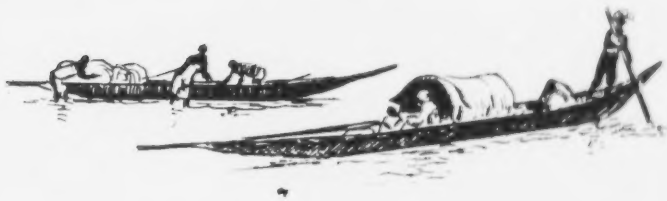
Compare the two maps on page 21. The most striking transformation is apparent when you look at Africa. The Mercator Projection, which was developed by a German, is strikingly Eurocentric — Europe (at 1,878,417 square miles) appears almost as large as Africa (11,700,000 square miles). Meanwhile, the Peters Projection, also developed by a German, shows us a Europe and a United States (at 3,670,245 square miles) that have shrunken considerably and focuses our attention on the so-called "Third World". Africa takes up the full center of the map.

Suggested activity:

If not all group members have their own copies of the *Introductory Guide to Africa*, the facilitator distributes copies of the maps, and ask for reactions from the group.

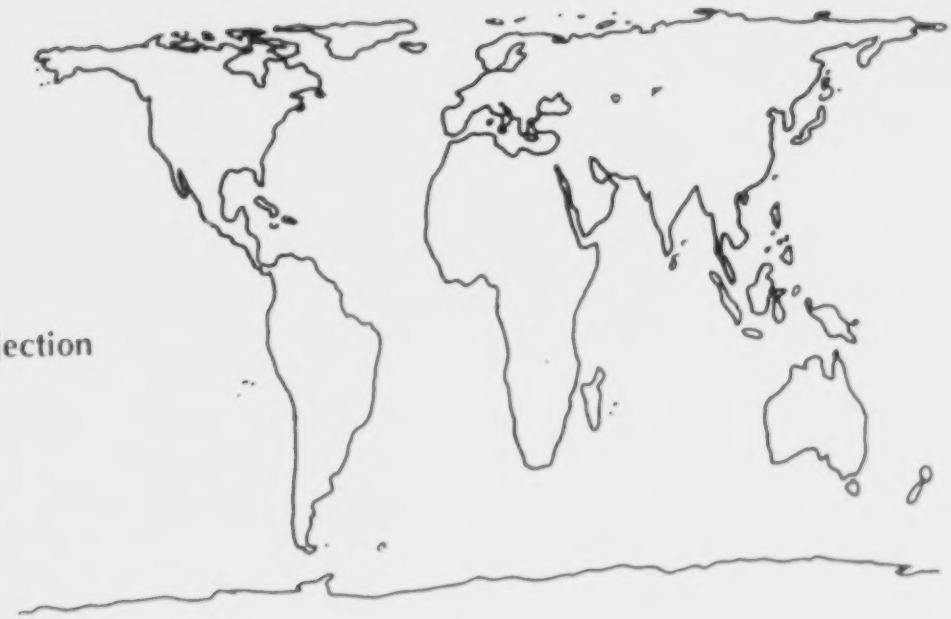
Questions such as these can stimulate group discussion:

- The introduction of the Peters Projection has not been without controversy. Why?
- If you were to host a conference highlighting the United States as a world trade or military power, which map would you be most likely to use? Why?
- In your mind, what does the continued use of the Mercator Projection in portraying the world imply?
- What would the wide-spread adoption of the Peters Projection mean for our geography and world history classes?



Mapping Exercise

Mercator Projection



Peters Projection

U.S.-African Connections: Our Common Struggle

There are similarities between the conditions of poverty and hunger in the United States and in African countries. On a rotating basis, participants read the following quotes and guess where it happened. You might be surprised. Answers are on the next page.

A. "No food was in the house. The babies had no milk; two were crying as several of the older children tried to console them. 'These people are starving,' the local guide told the doctors. The parents had not eaten for two days. The children had eaten some dried beans the previous evening."

B. "Julieta was pregnant, her eighth pregnancy, since she had already had seven children. Her husband was a track layer for the railways, but his earnings were insufficient to support his family so Julieta worked in exchange for food (sugar, flour, salt)."

C. "The majority of my patients wander all over ... working the crops. They have no education and poor conditions. They are hungry. Our people have become human garbage. They are damned. I am told that elephants don't die of disease; they die of starvation when their teeth fall out. That is the same thing that happens to my patients."

D. "'... we are lodged in these bungalow rooms. There is hardly any space. There are too many people, and one room is not enough for a large family... We do have tap water, but it should be improved. There is only one faucet — 300 yards away — for more than twenty families. We should have a better water supply and toilets.'"

E. "At the feeding center, 'we got 1,700 clients,' [a worker] explained, 'and many of them walk ten miles or more to get here.'"

F. "She's curled up in ... a torn sweater on a mattress with no sheet ... A week later I stop by to visit. She's in the same position: drowsy and withdrawn ... Her children, scattered like wilted weeds around her on the floor, don't talk or play or move around or interrupt."

G. "We had to leave because we were poor, and there was no money to pay the taxes. We left our young children, and when we returned they were grown, with beards, and some were dead. Today all our sons are [gone]. Only the old people remain, and they have little strength for farming. All our households have been destroyed."

H. "Widowed several years before, left without income,and with only a few possessions, this woman had settled her family of three children near a one-room wooden schoolhouse... The woman's only earnings were those she received from time to time in payment for cleaning the school."

Where did this happen? (from previous page)

A. Mississippi, USA (from Hunger in America, 1985)

B. Mozambique (from Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue: Run for Your Life.* New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc. 1988)

C. Texas, USA (from Hunger in America, 1985)

D. Kenya (from Perdita Huston, *Third World Women Speak Out* . New York: Praeger Publishers. 1979)

E. Ohio, USA (from Hunger Reaches Blue Collar America, 1987)

F. New York City, USA (from Jonathan Kozol's *Rachel and her Children,* 1988)

G. Senegal (from Oxfam America's Facts for Action #11)

H. Sudan (from Perdita Huston, *Third World Women Speak Out.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1979.)

*Adapted from "U.S. and Third World Poverty: Making the Connections," a Tools for Peace And Justice campaign sheet produced by Oxfam America.

Africa in the U.S. Media

A constant theme of this program is looking at the portrayal of Africa in the media. For example, the video used as the program's kick-off event asks participants to question the stereotypes inherent in the television image of the starving African.

The messages a community receives about Africa can either reinforce stereotypes about life on the continent, or help break them and introduce a more empowering perception of the relationship of interdependence between Africa and the United States. While most of us are familiar with growing U.S. dependency on foreign markets, economic relationships with Africa tend to remain obscure. Yet Africa may be key to a U.S. local economy or business.

All of us can have access to the media through contacts (press, radio, and television) as well as corporations and organizations that interact with Africa. Articles that explain connections with Africa have a special impact — the key being a local angle in writing the article. Polls have shown that most Americans read what are called "small" newspapers (1,394 of the 1,645 papers in the U.S. have a circulation below 50,000). Therefore, the closer the story is to Tulsa, Hattiesburg, Eureka, etc., the bigger the play among the readership.

Readers do play a role in what is printed in these papers — for example, in ethnic communities that are mostly African American, the coverage of Africa is much higher. Still, most Americans don't see how Africa can affect them. Our challenge is to show that it does!

Activity

As an on-going assignment within the scope of this program, all participants should clip Africa-related articles from local papers and other news sources to keep in a group scrapbook.

Beyond this, certain participants in the group are designated to identify the Africa-related media network in their area. Perhaps it's easiest to make one person responsible for identifying newspapers, another for local radio, another for local television, etc. Each person will record the findings on the local media network and its coverage of Africa. They will report back to the group during each session.

The findings by the group can help initiate a "reeducation"campaign in your area. The worksheet on the following page is designed to guide those group members responsible for collecting information.

Worksheet: Our area's media coverage of Africa

1. What are the main newspapers, magazines, television, and radio stations in my community?

   newspapers:

   magazines:

   television:

   radio:

2. What percentage of space/time do they devote to international issues?

   newspapers:

   magazines:

   television:

   radio:

3. What kind of Africa coverage do they have?

   newspapers:

   magazines:

   television:

   radio:

4. Do these media cover mostly peace/conflict, trade/economy, politics/government, energy/research, human interest, or ecology/environment issues?

   newspapers:

   magazines:

   television:

   radio:

5. Who are the people responsible for the coverage on African issues?

   newspapers:

   magazines:

   television:

   radio:

6. What are the main organizations and corporations with African interests in my area? What image of Africa do they portray? Who are the people responsible in their public affairs offices?

(adapted from: *Massachusetts and the World: An Activity and Resource Book* by Paul T. Mulloy. Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1982.)

Article 1: from *Dumba Nengue: Run for Your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique* by Lina Magaia.

I have four children. One of them was brought to me by fate, as a result of action by the *bandidos armados*.* I gave birth to three.

When I reached home on May 23, 1985, the little ones, as always, ran towards me to greet me. I said hello to them automatically, without feeling. They stood motionless, not understanding. One of them asked me what was wrong. It was around three in the afternoon.

I didn't answer. I went into the house and threw myself on the bed in tears. My eight-year-old came to talk to me and pressed me as to why I was crying. I told him:

"Today I saw Sonyka killed by a bullet in the chest, my son."

"But isn't Sonyka there outside?" he asked, astonished.

"Yes, our Sonyka is outside. The bandits killed a child even smaller than Sonyka . . ."

At this point Sonyka came into the room yelling, "Mama, what did you bring us from Maputo?"

"I brought tangerines. They're in the car. Go and get them."

They all ran out but soon came back, and it was the son I had been brought by fate who said to me, "Mama, the tangerines are covered in blood. Look at the bag, Mama."

"Wash them and eat," I replied.

"Whose blood is it, Mama? The car is covered in blood," said my eight-year-old.

"Ask uncle Caetano to wash the car out."

It was only then that I realized how much blood had been spilled in the car. Blood of that pretty young girl in her red skirt. Blood of that child whom I had wrapped in my black blouse, a blouse that I could never bear to wear again. It was the blood of the children of Mozambique. Blood spilling from the wounds cut in their bodies by the knives and bayonets wielded by sons of Mozambique who have been sold out to the enemies of Mozambique. Sold to the enemies of the peace of Mozambicans. But sold in exhange for what?

What greed, what promises, what drugs could transform children of the same womb into destroyers, "brain-smashers," people who could set fire to their own brothers and sisters?

I wanted to understand. I wanted to see an armed bandit, to know and understand him. I had heard many stories. But I thought they must be exaggerated. I couldn't believe that people could do the things I had heard about. There were the massacres of Wiriamu, Inhaminga, Nyasonia,* but I told myself that perhaps they were possible because they were done by colonialists and others who were strangers to this land. But these are the sons of Manhiça, Inhambane, Sofala . . .** of Mozambique?

And I saw my children crushed, disembowelled, rent with bayonets or their heads blown open by a burst from a machine-gun.

And I heard it being said that there was civil war in Mozambique. Civil war!? What is civil war? Wars, whether civil or not, are waged between armed contingents. That's not what's happening in Mozambique. There's no civil war in Mozambique. In Mozambique there is genocide perpetrated by armed men against defenseless populations. Against peasants. It is the same as what was done by scientific means against millions in the forties under Hitler's command and what the world condemned. Yes! That's it. The excuses and the tactics differ but the results and the victims are the same. There is no civil war in Mozambique.

It was reported from Malawi on October 13, 1986 that RENAMO*** "resisters" had taken towns in the center of Mozambique. At the same time it was reported that more than forty thousand people had sought refuge in Malawian territory.**** Refuge from what? What are they afraid of? Why do they run away when the "liberator" occupies the land where they were living and producing? For love of this "liberator"? In trust and hope of the benefit the occupation will bring them? Why do they run away? Isn't it a clear demonstration of rejection of those murderers?

Some people spend a great deal of money and material and human resources to spread the idea of a civil war in Mozambique. People who do this are either naive or misinformed as to what is really happening, assuming that they have any good intention. Or they are the promoters of the killings that are taking place in our country, an independent and sovereign country. In other words, they are supporting the aggression.

The events recounted here are not the invention of a sick mind with a taste for the macabre. There was no attempt to choose the most dramatic stories. And there are many, many more, some of them much worse. But how can we find out about them when the victims are illiterate, and have no access to microphones or other technology to report their day-to-day existence?

Under cover of night the killers, who are infiltrated by our enemies, are tearing the flesh of Mozambique into shreds.

Lina Magaia

Bandidos armados is Portuguese for armed bandits. They are also called *matsanga*.

*The first two are locations in which unarmed Mozambican peasants were massacred by special forces of the colonial army. The Rhodesian army was responsible for the latter in which hundreds of Zimbabwean refugees as well as Mozambican citizens died.

**Inhambane and Sofala are provinces and Manhiça is a locality in southern Mozambique.

***RENAMO is the Portuguese acronym for the MNR.

****Several hundred thousand Mozambicans fled to Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Article 2: from *Through African Eyes* by Leon E. Clark.

Since the beginning, Africans have compiled a long list of accomplishments and made an impressive number of contributions to human history. The Western world, however, has not always recognized these contributions. For centuries, Africa was thought of as the "dark continent," a land of primitive people with little or no history worth studying. Today, we realize that the real "darkness" was in our own minds, in our ignorance of Africa. This recent awakening has taught us a number of facts about Africa that should give us cause for some humility:

—Centuries before the discovery of the "new world," Africa had thriving cities that were centers of trade and technology.

—As early as the 14th century Africa had centers of learning at Timbuktu and Jenne that drew scholars and theologians from throughout the Muslim world.

—During the Middle Ages, when justice throughout much of the world was determined by the sword, great kingdoms in Africa had courts of law.

—When the Normans invaded a little-known island called England in 1066 A.D., they could muster an army of only 15,000 soldiers. In the same year, the West African state of Ghana could put 200,000 warriors in the field.

—When the Arabs invaded Europe in the 8th century A.D., they were able to push all the way through Spain into France. When they invaded West Africa, they were stopped in their tracks.

—When most Europeans were still pagans, in the 4th century A.D., the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia (then called Aksum) was a center of Christianity and could claim to be the oldest Christian empire in the world; its stone churches, built in the 12th century, are among the wonders of the world.

These random facts illustrate only a small part of Africa's rich history. There are many more facts that might be mentioned, and still others that might not strike Westerners as significant but are nonetheless important. After all, Africans might consider the development of peaceful societies more significant than the development of great armies. They might consider the preservation of African religions more significant than the adoption of Christianity. In short, Africans might have their own idea of what constitutes an important history.

But no matter what standards we use, African history stands as an important pillar in the structure of human development. Why, then did the West fail to appreciate the significance of African history for so long?

Article 3: from "How it Feels to be Colored Me." in *I Love Myself When I am Laughing...* by Zora Neale Hurston.

Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am the granddaughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is sixty years in the past. The operation was successful and the patient is doing well, thank you. The terrible struggle that made me an American out of a potential slave said "On the line!" The Reconstruction said "Get set!"; and the generation before said "Go!" I am off to a flying start and I must not halt in the stretch to look behind and weep. Slavery is the price I paid for civilization, and the choice was not with me. It is a bully adventure and worth all that I have paid through my ancestors for it. No one on earth ever had a greater chance for glory. The world to be won and nothing to be lost. It is thrilling to think—to know that for any act of mine, I shall get twice as much praise or twice as much blame. It is quite exciting to hold the center of the national stage, with the spectators not knowing whether to laugh or to weep.

The position of my white neighbor is much more difficult. No brown specter pulls up a chair beside me when I sit down to eat. No dark ghost thrusts its leg against mine in bed. The game of keeping what one has is never so exciting as the game of getting.

Session 2: Culture Connections

Goal: To establish greater awareness among participants of the connections between the U.S. and Africa on the basis of race and culture.

Session Length: approximately 2 hours, 15 minutes.

Activities:

- Participants share objects of African cultural interest and discuss the value of the arts as a means of preserving cultural values.
- They recognize that a history based on racism lies at the root of the U.S. relationship with Africa.
- They observe how African and African American culture has maintained its strength and resilience.
- They discuss readings on the common struggles of Africans and African Americans against racism and cultural oppression.
- They announce up-coming Africa-related events; share findings on the Africa resource network in the local area.
- They set the agenda and designate responsibilities for Session 3.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- African cultural visuals and foods brought by participants
- easel and newsprint to mark participants' questions, responsibilities
- copies of participants' names, addresses, and phone numbers to distribute to group
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- music cassettes to compare traditional sounds from West Africa (e.g., Ali Farka Touré, Zani Diabaté) with the U.S. blues (e.g., Hound Dog Taylor, John Lee Hooker, Howling Wolf)
- video cassette player

Recommended Videos (to be shown either before or after the session):

How Open the Door?: Afro-Americans' Experience in Unitarian Universalism.

This video is a historical overview of the role of the African American in the Unitarian Universalist movement, and looks at some of the factors that encourage and discourage African Americans from joining the Unitarian Universalist Church. The video is primarily for Unitarian Universalist audiences. (35 minutes)

Available from UUSC's Citizen Action Department, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108 , (617) 742-2120; or from the Unitarian Universalist Associations Adult Programs Council, 25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108 (617) 742-2100.

A.F.R.I.C.A.

This is a short, dynamic rap song about Southern Africa performed by the Stetsasonic youth group, particularly good for capturing the attention of younger audiences interested in Southern Africa. (10 minutes)

Available from UUSC's Citizen Action Department, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 742-2120.

Session Outline:

1. **A mini-celebration of culture and the arts (20 minutes):**

   Activity: Share the stories behind the African cultural items participants brought to the session, as well as reactions to the food and the Kenyan Proverbs (Article 1). What do we learn about African values from art and culture? Do similar crafts, foods, proverbs exist in the United States?

   Discussion: Oral literature plays an important role in African society (article 2: *The Story of the Mouse* is a typical example). What place does this type of literature have within the different ethnic groups found in your own community? Discuss the different functions of oral literature in your own cultural backgrounds.

   Brainstorming Exercise: Draw up a list of African cultural events that have occurred in your area. Where might there be room to create more opportunities for public exposure to various African arts?

2. **Discussion of the Readings**

   - Racism and the Resilience of African Culture (30 minutes):

     Two readings (articles 3 and 4) familiarize us with the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its continued impact on African Americans today. Besides being an extreme form of racism and exploitation of man by man, slavery was also an attempt to eradicate the identity and cultural value system of peoples of African origin. A history based on racism, therefore, is at the root of our relationship to Africa as Americans in a white Caucasian-dominated society. Without recognizing that root and the ways it has been perpetuated through the centuries into today, it will corrode our efforts to collectively build meaningful connections as Americans with Africans and within our own society.

Questions: Do participants agree with the above statements? Why or why not?

Discussion: Racism is the presence of race prejudice together with power exerted to maintain the prejudice. This is a commonly accepted definition of racism. Using this definition, list the factors contributing to racism as participants think it is being manifested in respect to non-white communities in our society today. Then list the factors that participants feel combat racism. What conclusions can you draw from these lists? What role(s) do(es) culture play in this analysis?

Listening Exercise: Play selections from West African and African American music. Compare the styles and the emotions evoked by the sounds. Think of other African American cultural characteristics that can be traced to Africa.

- The common struggle against racism: readings by Africans and African Americans (articles 5-9) (20 minutes)

  Discussion: Recently, prominent U.S. black leaders officially advocated the use of "African American" to refer to people of African origin in the United States — a term Rev. Jesse Jackson says has "cultural integrity". What does such a change in terminology imply? How does this fit with the ideals of Pan- and Trans-Africanism?

- Follow-up activities for issues raised by the readings (30 minutes):

  Ask a resource person knowledgeable about South Africa and the apartheid regime to describe the factors contributing to cultural oppression in their country. Consider the parallels, if any, that participants can draw between these conditions in South Africa and factors marginalizing ethnic minorities in the United States.

3. **Updates on the local Africa resource network (10 minutes)**

   The facilitator asks participants to announce:

   - progress on the list of African resources in the area (people; local network of African arts; area organizations and coalitions; and relevant libraries and resource centers).
   - recent articles and media coverage on Africa (place clippings on a bulletin board).
   - up-coming Africa-related events (speakers, movies, exhibits, festivals, etc.)

4. **Setting the agenda for Session 3: Economic Connections (10 minutes)**

   Before leaving, all participants should know what their responsibilities are. They should:

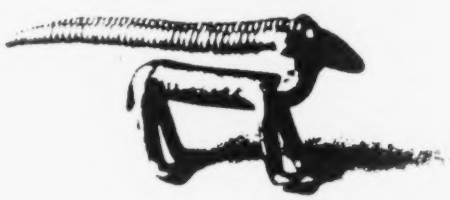
   - all have copies of the participants contact list
   - set a time, place and duration for Session 3
   - designate (a) facilitator(s) if necessary
   - assign reading of the overview of the articles for Session 3 to all participants.
   - designate participants responsible for reporting on certain readings, if all participants aren't able to read all the articles for Session 2
   - nominate person(s) who will bring African-style refreshments to the next meeting
   - as homework, identify 5-10 commodities of African origin in homes or local stores

Overview of the Readings for Session 2: Culture Connections

For people in the United States, African culture brings to mind much that has become part of our everyday life. The jazz, blues, modern reggae, or popularized African music on the radio, clothes and fashionable African jewelry, the number of African restaurants that have emerged in U.S. cities everywhere, news about Africa on television all attest to the influence of African culture on American life. Hand in hand with the celebration of the culture of Africa and its diaspora, runs a constant theme of cultural oppression and racism that has defined the historical ties between the U.S. and the African continent.

The wealth of artistic expression that can be traced to Africa should come as no surprise when you stop to consider the continent's diversity and the spread of its peoples throughout the world. Africa is made up of over 50 nations, more than 1,000 ethnic groups, and almost 2,000 separate languages. Keeping this in mind, the articles selected for reading below can only serve as a small introduction to Africa's cultural and aesthetic diversity.

As with any society and its language, an African language is intimately related to the identity, integrity and survival of the culture it represents: those who command its nuances, idioms, and proverbs (often the elders, story-tellers) are highly regarded within a community. Proverbs work as a creative mechanism for securing ties between past and present. Some Kenyan proverbs and a short "lesson" in the widely-spoken East African language, Swahili, set the tone for this chapter (article 1).



A Fulani tale originally passed on by word of mouth (article 2), establishes the importance of oral literature as a way to preserve history and express human values beyond everyday life. Written down by Malum Amadu, this story follows the traditional model of African folktales where animals prove far wiser than people. To preserve the story, and the handmade paper on which he had written it, Amadu stored the manuscript among some Arabic texts and other valuable papers inside a huge bundle of cloth. He extracted the manuscript from the bundle on a rainy night in Cameroon's Central Highlands and presented it to the book's author.

Article 3 introduces the reader to the slave trade, a period that forever marked the relationship between the U.S. and Africa. Between the 1440s and 1870s, up to 20 million Africans were uprooted from their homeland. Most were transported to the Americas. As with most heinous crimes against humanity, the voices of the true heroes and heroines of these four centuries were blotted out. This forces us, as students of history today, to focus our attention on the very exceptional cases of slaves who won their freedom and were able to tell their story. In an excerpt from a book entitled *Prince Among Slaves*, we learn how Ibrahima, a Muslim prince captured by the Mandinka people of Naini-Maru (in what is now known as the Gambia), was sold into slavery and crossed the Atlantic in 1788. Through a series of coincidences, Ibrahima was able to plead his case in the United States, and, after years of slavery on a tobacco plantation, returned to Africa shortly before his death in 1829.

Alex Haley's landmark book *Roots*, popularized by the television series, takes the reader on the same journey in reverse from the United States across the Atlantic Ocean to Africa. The book traces the author's ancestry back prior to slavery to his family's village in the Gambia. Haley's travels through the generations of his family in many ways revolutionized African American thinking about their heritage. More than any other contemporary book, it led African Americans to value their cultural linkage to Africa. Airing of the television series in many

African nations has stretched the *Roots* legacy far beyond the borders of the United States. Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane's recent volume *The Ties that Bind* (article 4) tells us of the impact of *Roots*.

Over the course of generations, maintaining a connection with Africa has been deeply ingrained in the minds of many African Americans in the U.S. As African states sought independence in the 1950s and 1960s, African Americans, including W.E.B. DuBois and Malcolm X, called for unification of all people of African descent. This movement, called Pan-Africanism, was the driving force in the establishment on May 26, 1963 of the present-day Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Pan-Africanism is being redefined into Trans-Africanism, subject of article 5, "The African Diaspora and the Contemporary World".

After generations, a distinct African American tradition has developed in the United States; likewise, cultural traditions in Africa continue to evolve. Yet some constants remain. The significant body of readily available literature and poetry by both Africans and African Americans reveals parallels in the choice of topics and literary styles. Such constants, also reflected in other art forms, demonstrate the ultimate triumph of African cultural traditions.

A passage from Maya Angelou's *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes* (article 6) portrays some of the expectations of African Americans who have settled in Ghana as part of the "back to Africa" movement. A short poem by Alice Walker (article 7) exposes some of the tension and ambivalence of the African American living in a society founded upon the white European value-based ideals of assimilation and egalitarianism.

According to Wole Soyinka, Africa's first recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature, artists play a crucial role in advocating issues that affect their culture and society. By virtue of his craft, says Soyinka, the writer "feels the whole burden of the world on his shoulders" in dealing with contemporary African issues such as cultural boycotts, African feminism, and the need for solidarity in relations between Africans and African Americans.

Many African authors, actors, artists and musicians — Chinua Achebe, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and King Sunny Adé to mention a few — have had a profound influence in the United States. Article 9 tells how the musical "Sarafina!," performed by and about school children from South Africa, has taken Broadway by storm. The spirit of resistance is most captured by the show's use of "mbaqanga", the music and dance style originating in South African townships.

Much remains unsaid in this brief selection of readings — there's no mention of African communities in the U.S., the influence of African art and sculpture on Western artists, the spread of the African story-telling traditions, languages, and religious practices throughout the Americas, or the effects of the "brain drain" of talented Africans who resettle in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, issues raised by these readings should stimulate thinking about the rich, resilient tradition of African culture.

Article 1: "Proverbs from Kenya" and "Say it in Swahili" from *Your World: An International Paper for Young People.*

PROVERBS From Kenya

A little path is sometimes the one that leads you to the main road.

Do not say the first thing that comes to your mind.

He who is unable to dance says that the yard is stony.

There is no phrase without a double meaning.

He who receives a gift does not measure.

Seeing is different from being told.

Much silence has a mighty noise.

Thunder is not yet rain.

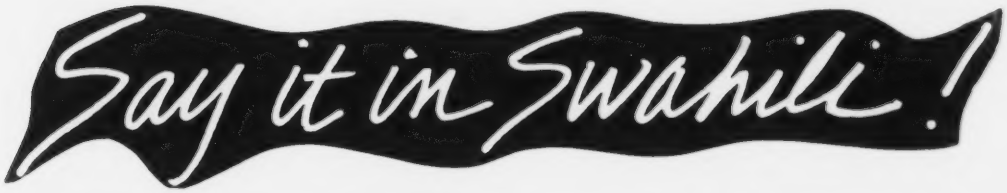
Soon found soon lost.

Absence makes the heart forget.

Good millet is known at the harvest.

Talking with one another is loving one another.

Virtue is better than wealth.



ENGLISH	SWAHILI	PRONUNCIATION
Hello	Jambo	Jahm-bo
Goodbye	Kwaheri	kwah-hay-ree
Please	Tafadhali	tah-fah-vahl-ee
Thank You	Ahsante	ah-sahn-tee
We are friends	Tuko rafiki	too-koh rah-fee-kee

Article 2: "The Story of the Mouse."
From *Amadou's Bundle by* Malam Amadu.

ONE DAY, a very large snake came and crawled about in the village between the sarēs. The people gathered together in a crowd and wanted to kill it; but a young man, whose father had died and left him three slaves, pleaded that it should not be killed. The people told him that they would only leave the snake in peace if he gave them one of his slaves.

'Then leave it alone,' he said, and gave them one of his slaves.

Another day, some children caught a hawk. The young man pleaded with them to set it free, and gave them his second slave. They freed the hawk and it flew away.

When the people caught a mouse, the young man took his remaining, very small slave-girl and gave her to them to let the mouse go. They set it free and the mouse ran away.

From that day, the people thought the young man was mad. He took his spear and walked away into the wilderness. After some time, he became tired and sat down under a tree, just off the path. Suddenly, he heard something that sounded like the roaring of the wind from far, far away; and slowly, slowly a huge snake came crawling towards him. In front of the young man, she curled herself into three large coils and her wattles glowed as red as fire. She looked at him, he looked at her. Then she uncoiled herself and slowly, slowly crawled away.

The young man got up and went on his way. After a few steps, he met another youth sitting quite by himself next to the path.

'Where are you going?' asked the youth.

'I am going to seek my fortune,' answered the young man.

'Whilst you were resting over there, did you see anybody?'

'I met a snake,' replied the young man.

'That was I,' said the youth. 'I am the snake that made the people gather together, in order to kill me; but you said, "Don't kill her." Come with me! One good turn deserves another.'

The young man followed the snake, and when they came to an ant-hill the snake said: 'Hold on to my feet; don't be afraid.'

The young man held on to the snake, and they crawled through a hole in the ant-hill. At last they came to a large town. The guards at the gates did not want to let them pass, but the snake drove them away, and went with the young man into the town and straight to the palace of the Lami'do.

After they had saluted the ruler, the snake said to him: 'When the people wanted to kill me, this young man bought my freedom.' The Lami'do replied that they were his guests, and they were well looked after.

Seven days the young man stayed in that town; then he said that he felt restless and wanted to go home.

'If we go to the Lami'do,' said the snake, 'he will offer you many wonderful presents. Don't accept them. Ask only for the ring on his thumb.'

The young man went and took leave of the Lami'do, who offered him thousands upon thousands of beautiful presents, in fact the whole world. But the young man refused.

'I don't want all that,' he said, 'only the ring on your thumb.'

The king replied: 'But that is such a little thing.'

The young man's only reply was 'Mhm.' So the Lami'do took off his ring and gave it to him.

The snake and the young man left together, but the snake only went with him as far as the spot on the path where they had previously met. Before they said good-bye to each other, the snake said: 'When you reach your sarē, everything you ever wished for in your life will be there.'

And this was all true. When the young man reached home, he found everything in the world, everything he had ever wanted; it was all there in his sarē.

The young man married, but the mother of his wife was a sorceress and was not allowed to live in the village. Her sarē was on the other side of the river. One day, she said to her daughter: 'Get me your husband's ring.'

The daughter, the wife of the young man, took pepper and rubbed it in her eyes so that she could weep without reason. The young man tried to comfort his wife, but she said that all she wanted was the ring on his finger. At last he took the ring off his finger and gave it to her.

She kept it for some time and later gave it to her lover, telling him to take it to her mother on the other side of the river. The lover took it to the mother and she became rich, but the wealth of the young man left him. His wife left him and returned to her mother on the other side of the river.

Poverty came to the young man. He had nothing left at all. He took his staff and walked away once more into the wilderness. Suddenly, the hawk came to him and said: 'Come with me, my friend; I will help you. You once did me a good turn.'

The young man followed the hawk to the hole of the mouse. There the hawk called: 'Crawl out!'

When the mouse came out, the hawk took it in his beak and flew away with it to the sarē of the mother of the young man's wife. There, he dropped the mouse. The mouse gnawed a hole in the pot where the mother kept the ring, took the ring up in his mouth, and crawled out again. Then the hawk picked up the mouse, flew away and dropped it at the feet of the young man. The mouse spat out the ring and returned it to him. They said good-bye to each other, and the young man went home. There all the wealth he had lost came back to him.

Article 3: from *Prince Among Slaves* by Terry Alford.

On January 30, 1788, Captain Nevin set sail on the *Africa* for the Gambia. The mouth of the river was usually reached in less than thirty days. After paying a customary toll at Juffure, it took another week to ride the tides upriver to Niani-Maru. The *Africa* reached this place about the first week in March.

Niani-Maru was a Mandinka village of several hundred houses on the Gambia's north bank. A map of the period contains this inscription from Harry Gandy of Bristol: "Yanimaroo is a delightful country abounding with provisions . . . [and] inhabited with honest, hospitable people; their houses are provided with various kinds of household furniture, etc." This place had become wealthy through the taxing of caravans and the slave trading that had thrived since the 1600s. Mandinka cultivators and traders had resided here for centuries. They were a tall and slender people, black, active, and warlike. The *mansa*, or king, of Lower Niani, of which Niani-Maru was the chief town, lived in a nearby town. With his permission Heatley and two other Europeans maintained establishments dealing in slaves, ivory, wax, and a little gold.

To Heatley's eyes, Ibrahima and the remnants of his war party, appearing from the hot lowlands south of Niani-Maru, would have looked similar to groups he had seen many times before. "They come down in large bodies, tied together by the neck," he wrote, "perhaps loaded and whipped along the same as a horse." With fifty of his command Ibrahima was soon purchased by Captain Nevin. "The nature of the slave service in the West Indies, being chiefly field labor," Barnes wrote at this time, "requires for the immediate interest of the planter a greater number of males." Nevin shopped accordingly. Ibrahima could see that for every four men brought on the *Africa*, there were only two women and one child. The men were clamped in irons immediately ("We should think it very dangerous otherwise," Heatley noted) and taken below. Bulkheads separated them from the boys abast the mainmast and pumps. Several dozen women were put aftward between the boys and the ship's square stern. In the bow to Ibrahima's front was the "hospital," an isolation room for anyone developing fever. Precise figures are lacking, but it appears about 165 or 170 Africans were crowded below deck. Captain Nevin also stowed in 456 pounds of beeswax and twenty-three ivory tusks.

Heatley said it was quite common for incoming captives not to understand each other and not to know the full extent of what was taking place. Ibrahima, who was fluent in Mandinka, knew precisely what was going on. While it did not lessen his alarm at his fate, it meant he knew what the fate was. The time passed with Dr. Cox had made him familiar with whites, and he was no doubt less afraid of them than were many other people in the interior. But of help, there was none. Although there were Muslims in Lower Niani who might have been expected to save Ibrahima, political and cultural considerations bade otherwise. And the Fulbe here, divided by dialect, caste, and religion, showed little intergroup feeling as well. Reserve—even hostility—between them was common. There was nothing at Niani-Maru for Ibrahima but the tow that pulled him on.

After a rapid loading, the *Africa* began downstream in mid-March. The bamboo and swamps of Niani were soon succeeded by mangrove thickets so inpenetrable that the banks were hidden from view. Salt water was encountered a hundred miles up the river at Elephant Island, and the country became flatter and more monotonous each mile. Villages of cane huts alone appeared. At last, the ship came to the level lower river, where all the winding was rewarded. The *Africa* slipped past Barra Point and spread its sails to the northeast trade winds. Its prow pointed for the Windward Islands, more than three thousand miles to the west.

Ibrahima was sixty-six when he told Gallaudet about the voyage. For two reasons it seemed best at that time to suppress an account of it. Slave ships were so familiar to people in 1828 that the biographer could say of Ibrahima's trip, "It would be useless to describe its horrors," and everyone would know what he meant. In this way it was asserted that Ibrahima underwent a passage as ordinary and as abominable as had 75,000 other Africans in 1788. Also, his biographer did not wish to arouse ill will toward slaveholders, and this was another reason to let the matter pass. And so no full account of these weeks was ever published. What is left, rather disconcertingly, is a few facts, a few hints, and a tradition. They are not what one wants, but they do give an idea of the passage.

For one thing the *Africa* was very crowded. One hundred and seventy people aboard a 110-ton brig meant there was less than a one-ton burden for each slave. Two tons were considered minimal by English reformers. If the average height of five feet in the tweendecks applied, no one could stand up in the men's quarter, and those on the side platforms could not sit up from where they lay. One can imagine what this meant for the Fulbe, who were tall people. Ibrahima, himself six feet tall, was chained by the ankle to another passenger. His confinement was broken only for meals, and those were customarily served twice a day. It was also customary for the slaves to sing their country songs and dance about for exercise, males on the main deck and females up on the quarter-deck with the captain. As the Fulbe, who were Muslims, did not dance, perhaps Nevin's quirt was employed to get them moving. At any rate, Ibrahima was more impressed with Nevin's habit of having tea served at a table in the late afternoon. He could not have seen this unless he was situated near a grated hatch, which tells something important about the voyage. There was no first class in the tweendecks, just levels of hell such as Dante provides, but if Ibrahima was at a hatch, he had a good position for fresh air and sea breezes and a better chance of surviving. It meant being the first out and the last in during musters.

But the hours below are the measure of the voyage. Despite the ports and gratings that Heatley had given the *Africa*, ventilation was poor, with partitions shutting the hold into breathless compartments that were hot during the day, cold at night. Human excrement raised a stench that was fetid and noxious and killed appetites more effectively than seasickness. Nausea, weakness, and debility followed. From dysentery and guinea worms, a mortality of at least five per cent was expected. Ibrahima's impression of the trip was that it seemed to go on and on and on. "Tedious" was the adjective Gallaudet used, tedious in the nineteenth-century sense of "overlong" and "wearisome." Inevitable physical and mental deterioration resulted. "The horrors he felt so deeply" was the expression used to characterize the trip many years later. "[The] Prince's sufferings were very great."

Captain Nevin thought the trip went well. Behind him on the Gambia the *L'Aimable Louise*'s cargo had revolted and taken over the ship. Barnes would receive no letter to that effect, nor would he read in the newspapers that the *Africa* had floundered like the *Minerva* or exploded like the *Tartar*. However protracted the voyage seemed to Ibrahima, the *Africa* had really been scudding the swells as if it were being chased. A quick passage was made. When the Windwards buoyed near, there appear to have been no deaths in the crew, and, miraculously, just a handful in the hold. Of the 164 Africans alive when port would be reached, all but seven would be judged "prime Negroes" in adequate health for sale.

Article 4: from *The Ties That Bind* by Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane

By Way of a Conclusion

African consciousness reached its apogee with the publication in 1976 of Alex Haley's *Roots* and its dramatization in a 13-hour series on television.[6] Never before had the history of black America, and especially its African connection, become an issue of national debate. For the first time Alex Haley had actually traced Afro-American history, not only through six generations in America, but to Africa. Haley, through Kunta Kinte had established real continuity between Africa and Afro-Americans, in actions and thoughts, through sorrows and tribulations, as no one had ever done. The publication of his book, exactly 200 years after the Declaration of Independence, was ironic and it did not escape James Baldwin:

> I cannot guess what Alex Haley's countrymen will make of his birthday present to us during this election and Bicentennial year. One is tempted to say that it could scarcely have come at a more awkward time—what with conventions, the exhibition of candidates, the dubious state of this particular and perhaps increasingly dubious union, and the American attempt hopelessly and predictably schizophrenic, of preventing total disaster, for white people and the West, in South Africa. There is a carefully muffled pain and panic in the nation, which neither candidate, neither party, can coherently address, being themselves but vivid symptoms of it.[7]

Roots is about lineage and blood, history and suffering and the need to know about these things. The particular pain of not knowing is the fate of all Afro-Americans whose history was so curiously mislaid in America, cast aside as a first sacrifice to survival on the plantations of the New World. According to reviewer Willie Lee Rose, "Omoro and Binta Kinte could possibly become the African proto-parents of millions of Americans who are going to admire their dignity and grace."[8]

The world of Alex Haley's *Roots* is Gambia, West Africa, around 1750, where one of his ancestors, Kunta Kinte, born of Omoro and Binta Kinte of the Mandinka people and of the Muslim faith, lived. In the recreation of this time and place, the ancestral village is brought to life with all its beauty and dignity. The public ceremonies of the beautiful Mandinka people are revealed as precise and coherent mirrors of their private and yet connected imaginations. Baldwin noted that these ceremonies, imaginations, however removed in time, are yet, for the black man anyway, naggingly familiar and present, I say, for the black man, but these ceremonies, those imaginations are really universal, finally inescapably as old and deep as the human race. The tragedy of the people doomed to think of themselves as white lies in their denial of these origins: they became incoherent because they can never stammer from whence they came.[9]

Afro-American consciousness of Africa thus reflects the experience of a people, their aims, their struggles and their goals as they continued to live in hostile climes. As *Roots* indicated, the American black's interest in Africa was not nostalgia. It was produced from the deep layers of their tormented lives in the New World. "The American Negro has a definable and legitimate historical tradition, no matter how painful, in America, but it is the only place such a tradition exists, simply because America is the only place the American Negro exists . . . He is an American capable of identifying with the fantastic cultural ingredients of this society, but he is also forever outside that culture, an invisible strength within it, an observer."[10] Whether Black Americans tried to identify or attempted to evade identification with things African, the specter of Africa continued to haunt them; and in one way or another, they had to come to peace with it. Haley's saga is a magnificant attempt to re-establish the *ties* that bind Afro-Americans to their ancestral home. As Chuck Stone put it: "Alex Haley is the Thucydides of our day, interpreting the Black Diaspora as majestically as the Greek historian catalogued the Peloponnesian War . . . The quest from Tennessee succeeded, painstakingly unraveling the umbilical cord that had stretched to a tortured distance from Africa and America."[11]

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Article 5: "The African Diaspora in the Contemporary World: From Pan-Africanism to Trans-Africanism," *African Diaspora Studies Newsletter.*

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

FROM PAN-AFRICANISM TO TRANS-AFRICANISM

Some eighty-four years after the first Pan-African Congress, structural changes in the status of African peoples both internationally and locally require a reassessment of whether or not trans-Africanism, rather than Pan-Africanism, should be our response to contemporary realities affecting intra-African relations.

"Historically, linkages between diaspora blacks and Africans have been defined by Pan-Africanism. But contemporary realities may now require a redefinition of the purpose and goals of Pan-Africanism."

The issue itself derives from the widely held belief that the political and economic future of peoples of African descent—both in Africa and abroad—is inextricably linked by a sense of interlocking destiny. This sense of destiny grew out of the primal fact of African concepts and kinship and the existence of spiritual and cultural affinities.

Moreover, a similar history of European domination led to the emergence of the tradition of Pan-Africanism, a concept which espoused an alliance or union of all African peoples or nations and the establishment of an identity between Africa and the diaspora to combat Western socioeconomic subordination of African peoples throughout the world.

Historically, linkages between diaspora blacks and Africans have been defined by Pan-Africanism. But contemporary realities may now require a redefinition of the purpose and goals of Pan-Africanism. A brief historical overview will show that the responsibilities of black leadership are now far more complex, and that the objectives of continued diaspora interactions are much more multifaceted.

The Pan-African Congress, held in Paris in 1919, was spearheaded by W. E. B. Du Bois. The conference was held in response to the consolidation of European political and economic control in Africa. However, the aim of the congress had been merely to improve treatment of the African "natives...insofar as their development permits."

In 1945, during the aftermath of World War II, the Manchester Conference took place. At that time, both U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave their support for self-government in the Atlantic Charter. However, the conference participants called only for equal opportunity and autonomy.

Although this was the first Pan-African congress to have had significant African representation, it was not until the first Conference of Independent African States, held in Accra, Ghana in 1959, just two years after that country's independence, that delegates called for total African independence and unity. This signaled the acceleration of African decolonization.

Today, however, there are some 50 independent, majority-ruled states in Africa, 12 independent Caribbean nations, a nascent black consciousness in Brazil, and a greater measure of equality and political influence among blacks in the United States. The clear-cut objective now is to develop a consciousness of unity and a forceful push for economic power to eliminate economic dependency.

"Whereas Pan-Africanism advocated, among other things, an eventual territorial regrouping, trans-Africanism is based principally upon a kind of psychological unity."

It is because of this global struggle of members of the darker race to narrow the gap between themselves and the industrialized Western world that a paraphrase of Du Bois is pertinent: the problem of the twenty-first century will be the convergence of the color line with that of the poverty line.

With these developments in mind, it is therefore possible to understand why trans-Africanism offers a more pragmatic solution for the problems of Africa and the diaspora. In addition, the concept, unlike Pan-Africanism, assumes no hegemonial position for any particular African grouping or nation.

Article 5 (cont'd.)

Whereas Pan-Africanism advocated, among other things, an eventual territorial regrouping, trans-Africanism is based principally upon a kind of psychological unity. It envisions a two-pronged basis of operation: a concentration of effort in the country of one's actual citizenship coupled with a profound identity with issues relating to the African homeland.

Trans-Africanism also emphasizes economic and political collaboration across territorial boundaries for mutual self-interest. It incorporates the notion of Pan-Africanism inasmuch as the ultimate goal of creating one nation/state in Africa may strengthen the continent's influence within the international community.

"In sum, the fundamental assumption of trans-Africanism is that the African continent has the potential of becoming a powerful and pivotal force in international affairs."

However, trans-Africanism recognizes as well that the greatest Afro-American contribution to African political and economic development may be that of capitalizing on the prerogatives of national citizenship. Specifically, since the United States' global reach gives it a powerful position in international affairs, an Afro-American quest for progressive policies toward Africa and the diaspora may be more beneficial than a massive return to Africa as advocated earlier by emigrationists. Similarly, the use of a significant portion of black American aggregate income (i.e., in 1980, $127 billion), for political empowerment and investment in and trade with Africa and the Caribbean, would advance trans-African goals.

Moreover, the 62 independent African and Caribbean nations constitute a voting block of more than one-third in international forums and therefore should cooperate in a more systematic way to become a significant force in multilateral diplomacy.

In sum, the fundamental assumption of trans-Africanism is that the African continent has the potential of becoming a powerful and pivotal force in international affairs. If actualized, this force could have a reverberating effect on peoples of African descent everywhere. Therefore, the primary objective of diaspora Africans should be to forge policies that not only consolidate African power but enhance the strategic importance of the continent.

While the capacity to realize this goal will necessarily differ within various sectors of the diaspora, the following tactics should become part of a coherent trans-African strategy:

1. the development of a sense of collective responsibility for the condition of the African peoples;

2. the consolidation of power and influence at the local level;

3. the selective repatriation to Africa of trained specialists to provide needed technical assistance;

4. the institution of a greater measure of economic self-reliance between Africa and the diaspora; and

5. the purposeful attempt to accumulate capital to advance political and security goals.

As shown, the implementation of trans-Africanism and its intended impact on African peoples opens the door to much further research and inquiry. ■

Article 6: from *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes* by Maya Angelou.
Article 7: "xiv." from *Once: Poems* by Alice Walker.

From *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes* by Maya Angelou

I was soon swept into an adoration for Ghana as a young girl falls in love, heedless and with slight chance of finding the emotion requited.

There was an obvious justification for my amorous feelings. Our people had always longed for home. For centuries we had sung about a place not built with hands, where the streets were paved with gold, and were washed with honey and milk. There the saints would march around wearing white robes and jeweled crowns. There, at last, we would study war no more and, more important, no one would wage war against us again.

The old Black deacons, ushers, mothers of the church and junior choirs only partially meant heaven as that desired destination. In the yearning, heaven and Africa were inextricably combined.

And now, less than one hundred years after slavery was abolished, some descendants of those early slaves taken from Africa, returned, weighted with a heavy hope, to a continent which they could not remember, to a home which had shamefully little memory of them.

Which one of us could know that years of bondage, brutalities, the mixture of other bloods, customs and languages had transformed us into an unrecognizable tribe? Of course, we knew that we were mostly unwanted in the land of our birth and saw promise on our ancestral continent.

I was in Ghana by accident, literally, but the other immigrants had chosen the country because of its progressive posture and its brilliant president, Kwame Nkrumah. He had let it be known that American Negroes would be welcome to Ghana. He offered havens for Southern and East African revolutionaries working to end colonialism in their countries.

I admitted that while Ghana's domestic and foreign policy were stimulating, I was captured by the Ghanaian people. Their skins were the colors of my childhood cravings: peanut butter, licorice, chocolate and caramel. Theirs was the laughter of home, quick and without artifice. The erect and graceful walk of the women reminded me of my Arkansas grandmother, Sunday-hatted, on her way to church. I listened to men talk, and whether or not I understood their meaning, there was a melody as familiar as sweet potato pie, reminding me of my Uncle Tommy Baxter in Santa Monica, California. So I had finally come home. The prodigal child, having strayed, been stolen or sold from the land of her fathers, having squandered her mother's gifts and having laid down in cruel gutters, had at last arisen and directed herself back to the welcoming arms of the family where she would be bathed, clothed with fine raiment and seated at the welcoming table.

I was one of nearly two hundred Black Americans from St. Louis, New York City, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Dallas who hoped to live out the Biblical story.

Some travelers had arrived at Ghana's Accra Airport, expecting customs agents to embrace them, porters to shout "welcome," and the taxi drivers to ferry them, horns blaring, to the city square where smiling officials would cover them in ribbons and clasp them to their breasts with tearful sincerity. Our arrival had little impact on anyone but us. We ogled the Ghanaians and few of them even noticed. The newcomers hid disappointment in quick repartee, in jokes and clenched jaws.

The citizens were engaged in their own concerns. They were busy adoring their flag, their five-year-old independence from Britain and their president. Journalists, using a beautiful language created by wedding English words to an African syntax, described their leader as "Kwame Nkrumah, man who surpasses man, iron which cuts iron." Orators, sounding more like Baptist southern preachers than they knew, spoke of Ghana, the jewel of Africa leading the entire continent from colonialism to full independence by the grace of Nkrumah and God, in that order. When Nkrumah ordered the nation to detribalize, the Fanti, Twi, Ashanti, Ga and Ewe clans began busily dismantling formations which had been constructed centuries earlier by their forefathers. Having the responsibility of building a modern country, while worshipping traditional ways and gods, consumed enormous energies.

As the Ghanaians operated an efficient civil service, hotels, huge dams, they were still obliged to be present at customary tribal rituals. City streets and country roads were hosts daily to files of celebrants of mourners, accompanied by drums, en route to funerals, outdoorings (naming ceremonies), marriages or the installations of chiefs, and they celebrated national and religious harvest days. It is small wonder that the entrance of a few Black Americans into that high stepping promenade went largely unnoticed.

The wonder, however, was neither small nor painless to the immigrants. We had come to Africa from our varying starting places and with myriad motives, gaping with hungers, some more ravenous than others, and we had little tolerance for understanding being ignored. At least we wanted someone to embrace us and maybe congratulate us because we had survived. If they felt the urge, they could thank us for having returned.

then there was the picture of the bleak-eyed little black girl waving the american flag holding it gingerly with the very *tips* of her fingers.

Article 8: "Africa's Nobel Laureate" by Barbara Summers and Malaika Adero, *Africa Report*, July/Aug. 1987

With the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature to Wole Soyinka, one of Nigeria's premier writers, Africa's rich literary tradition has finally received international recognition. Shortly after his play, "Death and the King's Horseman," was performed in New York, Soyinka talked about the role of the writer within the politics of culture and the impact of the Nobel on his career.

Africa's Nobel Laureate

BY BARBARA SUMMERS
with MALAIKA ADERO

Since the Nobel, he says his life is hell, the hell of other people. "I have lost even the tattered remains of my privacy" to powerful institutions and heads of state and ordinary people whose "claims are always backed by a very good reason," he says. Although his sweeping arm includes us in the definition of his hell, he is gracious and voluble as we talk on a recent Friday. Waves of eloquence, sprightly and elegant, wash through his hands and over his face which sometimes sparkles and other times ripples in thoughtful concentration.

* * *

The award of the Nobel Prize for Literature to Nigerian author Wole Soyinka in October 1986 marked a significant breakthrough in the politics of culture. Literature by and about African people thus received the highest non-commercial "stamp of approval" ever. With the resurgence in black literature in the 1980s—and especially Alice Walker's blockbuster *The Color Purple*—writers and publishers have been eyeing each other with cautious curiosity prospecting for that next color of money and success.

But Soyinka has no intentions of going Hollywood or high hat with the Nobel. He is adamant when he says that the problem of the prize, "the aspect of recognition," is a "problem of the outside world, the European world." In Africa, he insists, there is a strong literary tradition, both oral and written, with masterworks especially in poetry. He sees the major significance of the Nobel as "extending the literary family" beyond Euro-American culture.

As a young African, he grew up in colonial Nigeria mirrored by English literature. If he could make such drastic leaps in identification, he sees no reason why whites or any one else cannot surmount their cultural biases and enter into his African world. He is impatient with "intellectual laziness" and "self-created barriers" that hinder the free trade of ideas.

Just as all the economies of the world are interrelated, he says, "There is a common denominator among various cultures of the world. Whether we like it or not, the whole world is progressing in the direction of technological transformation. Soon the only differences between people will be cultural differences."

What, then, is the role of the artist? What is the responsibility of the writer to society? Politics deals with paradox and artists are uniquely equipped to deal with opposites and extremes. "Artists provide consciousness," says Soyinka. "The writer has no choice, I think, but to reinforce those cultural distinctions even while utilizing tools which are universal." He must use the unique to critique the very direction in which the whole world remorselessly is being pulled.

African-Americans who, Soyinka contends, are in fact "part and parcel of American society," find it useful to "maintain a kind of cultural distinction from the majority European-American culture." "Poets, painters, and dramatists are looking to Africa for images and symbols, seeking certain ritualistic patterns in order to redefine and re-examine the temporary conditions of our contemporary society.

"A lot more of that will be taking place," he feels.

This does not negate his opinion that there are major cultural differences between Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. As a theatrical director, Soyinka had to come to grips with the fact that "over the centuries, African-Americans have acquired certain characteristics, certain rhythmic patterns, even vocal patterns, that differ from those of Africans who never left the territory." Cultural exchange, he maintains, is "not an automatic transition." "It is a learning process."

According to Soyinka, "There is no way that black Americans can pretend that the materialist outlook of American society—the sense of making it—has not affected them. The sense of community which many Africans possess eludes African-Americans in its deepest sense. They have no choice, having to find their survival in a very, very difficult cultural milieu.

"If you say that black Americans

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Article 8 (cont'd.)

should be invited to abandon this country, the result of their sweat, to transfer to a kind of homeland in Africa, I would disagree with that. We need to look toward black America for certain areas of expertise before we look to Europe. Especially in the fields of technology and medicine, we should invite the brains of black America to congenial areas in Africa."

Congenial areas? Soyinka mentions Senegal, Kenya, and Tanzania. What about Nigeria?

Twenty years ago, during the disastrous civil war, Soyinka was arrested and remained imprisoned for over two years, most of that time in solitary confinement. Pain seems to slide into nonchalance as he shrugs off that turn of events in our conversation. "A writer takes risks," he says. "One day in prison, one day being decorated by the head of state." The only way he could sustain himself in such isolation was to "deliberately consign the outside world to oblivion." "I recognized the fact that for the next—I didn't know how long—this was the entirety of my existence. It was not a question of *losing* hope. I did not even *entertain* hope. I lived from day to day."

It is obvious that the politics of culture depends directly on the politics of government. And it is equally obvious that "too often nasty types have held the reins of power," Soyinka says. But Soyinka feels that the present Babangida regime has made definite overtures to intellectuals and artists.

At times the writer, that specialist with common tools, feels the whole burden of the world on his shoulders. "The result is that his very creative powers are totally asphyxiated. That is dangerous. By extending the horizons of perception of his society, the writer is already contributing enormously to the well-being of the community."

A well-being predicated on dishonesty, injustice, and inhumanity, however, cannot stand, says Soyinka, and artists cannot "accept a double standard." "We must have the moral strength to criticize our own black oppressors." Many African leaders are afraid of their own people, afraid to extend rights, to encourage a creative participatory government, he says.

"If you have genuine revolutionary societies in which there is full participation, where people are not treated as thieves—this new form of internal colonialism—then people will march shoulder to shoulder with their leaders. When the heads of state involve the people in the country's fortunes and destinies instead of directing the country's resources to protect their own positions, these leaders will have nothing to fear." But it is fear which prevents these countries from organizing a liberation army to confront South Africa. "As long as African leaders are more concerned with protecting their own turf, unity against South Africa will not happen."

The role of the artist in the siege of South Africa? His position on cultural boycotts? The questions are simple. It is the answers which are "very, very complex." Soyinka tells of being invited to South Africa by a group of young black people, "living in the thick of the battle, day to day." "I packed my bags and said, 'Of course, I'll go. I'm ready to come if you can get me a visa.' " His visa was rejected and so he did not go. He says, "Others believe that South Africa should be boycotted totally. Economically, yes. But culturally, it doesn't make sense to me."

Soyinka's opinions of the women's movement are equally vehement. "Women have always been women where I come from. Women drove out a powerful king all in a day's business," he says. He is quick to point out that he is quoting a Nigerian woman author when he says that women artists find certain manifestations of the Euro-American feminist movement "repulsive."

"Africans must develop their own feminist traditions based on the material conditions of their existence and their relationship to the rest of society and not just copy," he says.

Cultural differences would probably go a long way in explaining why—despite the bare-breasted physicality of some African societies—the open sexuality rampant in the West has little place in African writing. He claims that "African writers and Africans in general are far more private. They object to the cult of expose all, reveal all." In this way, they protect intimate relationships and human dignity, he feels.

Similarities among African peoples are more real than differences. Says Soyinka, "The African world is not limited by the African continent." Obvious elements of an African aesthetic—for example, in music, architecture, and human beauty—range "from the sublime to the ridiculous," with black beauty-queen competitions falling toward the low end of the scale. The very structure of our primary social grouping, the communal family, today retains the essentials of its African origin, he feels.

Soyinka's participation in national and international writers organizations has kept him busy and successful ("I was used to five figures, but the prize is six figures. . . still, not really that much"), just the opposite of an invisible man. But the extra glare of the Nobel has been fatiguing.

"It is obvious that the politics of culture depends directly on the politics of government."

Where does he intend to regroup and recoup? In his home town of Abeokuta, a rocky, quiet place which, he says, "has refused to expand in the aggressive, chaotic ways of Lagos and Ibadan."

With a Nobel laureate in residence, though, change may not be far behind. Perhaps no further away than the next mail delivery. Such is the power of the word that in Nigeria, correspondence to Wole Soyinka needs no address.

In African America, he is not—yet—as well-known. As performances and publications increase, commercial exposure, such as Lincoln Center's recent production of "Death and the King's Horseman" and academic recognition, will certainly help repair such ignorance. Direct, intensified exchange between artists also will circulate Soyinka's work and that of other Africans.

In America, Africans must make a leap past the entertainer icons of this neon culture to find the source of our wisdom. Across great cultural divides, somewhere we all speak the same language. □

Article 9: "'Sarafina!': The Music of Liberation"
by Daphne Topouzis, *Africa Report*, Jan.Feb. 1988.

"Sarafina!": The Music of Liberation

No other play about South Africa has had as much impact on its audiences as Mbongeni Ngema's "Sarafina!" A brilliant interplay of mbaqanga—the music of the townships—dance, and song, combined with a powerful political message, the production is preparing to take Broadway by storm.

BY DAPHNE TOPOUZIS

Standing on an armored truck behind a chain-link fence topped with barbed wire, four musicians, dressed in South African military gear and armed with guitars and trumpets, open fire with a slick mbaqanga tune. Next, 20 teenagers in black and white school uniforms and spiffy bowler hats fill the stage to defy apartheid with a dazzling display of song and dance.

Written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema ("Woza Albert!" and "Asinamali!," see *Africa Report*, July-August 1987), with music by Hugh Masekela, "Sarafina!" has been acclaimed as one of the most original, exuberant, and irresistible shows to reach New York City. Subtitled "The Music of Liberation," the play celebrates the spirit of resistance and resilience of South Africa's black school children, using mbaqanga, the music of the townships, as the medium.

The idea for the play crystallized during a conversation between Ngema and Winnie Mandela, in which the resistance leader underscored the strength of the children in South Africa's liberation struggle. Subsequently, in a small London studio, Hugh Masekela and Ngema began working on a score revolving around the power of mbaqanga music.

Upon his return to South Africa, the playwright set up auditions throughout the country to select his cast. Nine boys and eleven girls aged 16 to 20 were chosen, and after eight months of training in voice, acting, and dance at the old Plantation Hotel in Fordsburg, "Sarafina!" opened at the Market Theater in Johannesburg.

New York was next. The play was almost immediately sold out at the Lincoln Center Theater and is now going strong at Broadway's Cort Theater. Critics predict "Sarafina!" will be Broadway's hit of the season.

The year is 1976. The setting is the Morris Isaacson High School, the "parliament" of black students in the township of Soweto. As an ordinary school day begins, we are gradually introduced to the main characters of the play, most of whom are addressed by mischievous nicknames: Colgate, Crocodile, Silence, Florsheim, Teaspoon, and Schoolmistress "It's a pity."

Their laughter, teenage sensibility, and playful fighting are irresistibly engaging and infectious. Initially, the heroine, Sarafina, comes across as a "pretty mama," the most sought-after girl in the school—a girl who has boys on their knees singing, "You break me heart in pieces. You make I wanna cry."

The jovial and carefree atmosphere of the classroom is regularly and brutally interrupted with the grim realities of apartheid: security identification checkups before class and the beating of the mistress, under an absurd pretext, for "subversive" teaching. Colgate wittily recounts how the omnipresent armed soldiers have taken the place of education inspectors and have rewritten the school syllabus. The smell of gunpowder "has become our perfume," he adds with a smile that fails to hide the tragic expression on his taut face.

Harassment, torture, and detention begin to unfold as part of the children's daily routine. A boy whose father is attacked by security police dogs asks: "What would you do if your father came home with no pants and blood dripping down his legs?"

Sarafina begins to emerge as a serious and committed activist with little time for teenage play and carefree fun. In a solemn voice, she tells the story of the savage rape of a black woman by a white police officer and launches a frontal attack on apartheid: "This whole place is filthy," she says with a stone-cold expression on her face. "It smells of the burning bodies of the informers. It smells of the government lies. It stinks of their jails. It stinks of their army. It stinks of their state of emergency."

Flashbacks into the history of the black struggle eventually lead to the story of Victoria Mxenge, a human rights attorney and member of the United Democratic Front whose defense work in the Natal treason trials cost her her life, murdered in August 1985 in front of her children by "unknown masked men."

Sarafina's vivid account of Mxenge's tragic fate is only matched by the cast's reenactment of the Soweto uprising of June 1976, when, after refusing to accept Afrikaans ("the language of oppressors") as the medium of instruction, hundreds of schoolchildren were massacred by the South African police.

And yet, "Sarafina!" is not merely a play about oppression—oppression is the context, not the focus of the show and certainly not its final word. With "Sarafina!," Ngema has taken "Asinamali!" one step further, leaving apartheid behind in order to bring out the power, positiveness, and resilience of the children of South Africa. The fact that the story line is somewhat thin is virtually irrelevant.

" 'Sarafina!' celebrates the spirit of resistance and resilience of South Africa's children, using mbaqanga, the music of the black townships, as the medium."

Article 9 (cont'd.)

Brigitte Lacombe

"Their laughter, teenage sensibility, and playful fighting are irresistibly engaging and infectious"

In fact, what is remarkable about this play is that the music and dancing communicate the story line with even more intensity and passion than any script could have. Mbaqanga both reinforces the spirit of resistance and smoothes out the grief and frustration of the schoolchildren's uneasy endurance of apartheid. Similarly, dance is used not only to communicate the children's vitality, but to articulate what is not explicitly stated.

The unfailingly uplifting feel of the music and the pulsating dancing carry a clear message all by themselves. In one of the most moving parts of the play, the children cast off their uniforms and slip into colorful traditional African dress to perform "Freedom is coming tomorrow," their fists clenched in the air.

Sarafina is detained and tortured twice, only to return stronger and more committed to the cause. On her initiative, the class chooses to devote the annual school revue to Nelson Mandela, with Sarafina as the protagonist. Masekela's "Bring Him Back Home" is sung in melodic whispers while the spotlight rests on her as she delivers Mandela's homecoming speech.

As tension recedes, the cast performs an explosive version of "Wololo," which sets in motion every muscle and every musical note available. Both times I saw the play, the audience invited itself to dance and applaud through this last number, mesmerized by this bewitching blend of music, dance, and energy.

The originality of this play undoubtedly lies in the fact that it has introduced a new dimension to a familiar, though by no means exhausted, subject. Like other South African plays, "Sarafina!" is narrated rather than dramatized, but it is narrated through every song and through each child's body, movement, and voice. It is not acted out, but reenacted by children who have lived through what they are communicating.

Yet, if "Sarafina!" succeeds in communicating a grim reality with humor, infectious optimism, and uplifting spirit, the spectator does not leave with his conscience at rest. The continuous battle between the tragic truth and the youthful conviction that change is around the corner remains troubling—for the cast and the audience alike. The children's burden cannot help but become the spectator's guilt. □

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Session 3: Economic Connections

Goal: To establish greater awareness among participants of the connections between the U.S. and Africa on the basis of economics and neocolonialism.

Session Length: Approximately 2 hours, 15 minutes.

Activities:

- Participants share their findings about what economic commodities in their local area are of African origin.
- They learn about some of the economic ties that bind Africa, Europe, and the U.S. both historically and today.
- They recognize connections between the marginalized communities in the U.S. and in Africa from an economic perspective.
- They discuss readings on the common struggles of Africans for economic self-determination.
- They announce up-coming Africa-related events; share findings on the local Africa resource network.
- They select the issue to be presented for Session 4, set the agenda, and designate responsibilities.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- African commodities and foods brought by participants
- easel and newsprint to mark participants' questions, responsibilities
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- video cassette player

Session Outline:

1. **Identifying Objects of African Origin in your Community (20 minutes)**

   Africa's Wealth in our Homes: Although we may not be aware of it, products from Africa have become a part of our daily lives in the United States. Some, such as diamonds, gold, fur, and ivory have become symbolic of our image of wealth as a society. In a group exercise, draw a "map" of a typical household and identify all items of African origin. Don't limit yourself solely to finished products. In many cases, raw materials or minerals used by manufacturers come from the African continent.

   Here's a list to get you started:

   Firestone tires (rubber plantations)

   African violets (other medicinal plants, flowers, dyes)

   Gucci leather bags/suitcases (leather hides)

   erasers (gum arabic)

   Izod shirts (shirt factories in Mauritius)

   colorful woven "Kenya" bags, sisal

   furs, ivory, gold, diamonds, gems

   cinnamon, vanilla, cloves

   sugar, dates, fruits, wine

   tea, cocoa, coffee

   peanuts, cashew nuts, palm oil

   zoo animals

   mahogany, wood products, wood carvings

   music, musical instruments

   manganese, uranium, bauxite, petroleum, copper, chrome, phosphate

   Negative Images: Some "African" items we regularly encounter have contributed to racial stereotyping of Africa as well as people of African origin. Images of pickaninnies, golliwogs, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, still popular in the U.S., contain racial slurs that many of us have grown to accept without giving it much thought. A few other African "imports" that might be considered negative include:

   Safari outfits from Banana Republic stores

   African "safari" game parks

   Images of Africans as cannibals in comic books

   Tarzan and other Hollywood movies that depict Africa

   AIDS as an "African" disease

   "African" killer bees (they're actually from Brazil)

   Can you think of others?

Brainstorming exercise: Launch a commodity awareness campaign. Think of ways to spread broader awareness of commodities' origins among fellow consumers and shop-keepers. For example, speak up about the boycott of diamonds from South Africa, Shell oil, African furs and ivory to shop and gas station owners! Let them know that you and your colleagues will boycott the station or store.

2. **Discussion of Session 3 readings**

- Africa before the Europeans (article 1) (15 minutes):

Many of us in the U.S. grow up believing that African civilization did not begin until Africa was "discovered" and explored by Europeans. Yet kingdoms, empires, and civilizations throughout the African continent predate those of Europe. For example, the world's oldest Christian empire hails from Africa: the kingdom of Ethiopia, originating in the ancient city of Aksum, endured for almost 3,000 years. Ethiopia's emperor, referred to as the "King of Kings, Lion of Judah, Elect of God" claimed direct descendance from the union of the Queen of Sheba with King Solomon of Israel. In article 1 below we learn about Kilwa (in what is known today as Tanzania), a wealthy trading city that maintained sophisticated economic relationships with other African ports, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, India, and even China.

Discussion: What obstacles prevent us in the U.S. from learning more about Africa's rich history? How can such obstacles be overcome?

- From Colonialism to Neocolonialism (articles 2-6) (20 minutes):

Discussion: In these readings, we've seen examples of neocolonialism (definition: the survival of colonial-like exploitation by a foreign power of a region that has ostensibly achieved independence) and dependency on Western foreign support in the African context. Many development experts maintain that similar forces of new colonialism operate in poverty-stricken regions or marginalized communities in the United States. What parallels exist? (use flipchart paper to mark down comments) What factors contribute to maintaining these conditions of dependency?

A Role Play to Understand the Multinational Corporation (MNCs) (30 minutes):

In today's interdependent world, all nations great and small have to come to terms with some level of foreign influence on their affairs. What options do African nations have when it comes to deciding what role for foreign involvement is best? This role play portrays a situation where a MNC seeks to expand its operations to an African country and the ensuing debate between the interested parties.

How to Play:

1) Participants select an African nation (read about it in the country basic data section at the end of this book)
2) Participants then choose the type of agricultural commodity the MNC wants to develop (e.g., cotton, coffee, gum arabic (for rubber), cocoa, tea...) in the chosen nation
3) Participants decide on the name to give to this U.S.-based MNC
4) Then participants select who in the group will play the following roles:

Role #1: Representative of the MNC.

You're a representative from the U.S.-based main office . Your company is very interested in expanding its activities in this African country for several reasons:

- profits are substantially higher in the Third World than in industrialized nations.
- your company will be able to corner the local market on the commodity in question.
- your company can take advantage of lower wages, weak environmental laws, and government restrictions on union activity.

Role #2: Representative of the government

You've been educated in the U.S., and have been a government employee all your professional life, and are currently wrestling with a national budget plagued by hefty debt payments to international creditors. From your point of view, inviting the MNC to open up activities in your country is advantageous, because:

- it will provide new wage-paying jobs.
- it will bring new and advanced technology (cultivating, processing, and marketing) into your country.
- it will lead to better access to export markets for your country.
- it will bring foreign exchange to your country for payment of the foreign debt.

Role #3: Farmer from the region targeted by the MNC

You've spent your life cultivating and living off of the land together with your family and generations before you. You use labor-intensive techniques, and tend to cultivate a variety of crops for local consumption by the community. Only rarely will you go to the market to sell any excess of your products. It's not been a very profitable lifestyle, but you and your community have survived. The MNC has promised you a lot of incentives

to cultivate the new commodity. Nevertheless, you're resistant to the MNC for the following reasons:

- cultivating one crop involves changing the work patterns you've developed as a subsistence farmer all your life.
- you can't help but fear being driven off the land.
- cultivating only one crop will not feed the family.
- such cultivating process will deplete the soil and call for the use of expensive fertilizer.

Role #4: Community representative from the region targeted by the MNC

You've benefited from a Western-value based education and are concerned about the social well-being of this region. You know that in the past, MNCs have had some negative effects on the communities that they've operated in. You're opposed to the entry of the MNC because:

- there is a good chance that unemployment will increase with the reliance on mechanization.
- replacing a wage system with the local subsistence system could be inadequate.
- the community will run a higher risk of hunger, malnutrition, and the inadequate or unequal distribution of goods.
- too much control of the community's economic processes lie beyond the hands of the local community.

5) After participants study their parts, they begin a 10 minute debate. What is the outcome of the debate? Will the MNC open operations? How did the participants feel playing their roles? With whom did the power of decision-making lie? What would be the ideal strategy and role for foreign business interests?

- Redefining Foreign Aid and Development (articles 7-9):

Discussion: The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has the following philosophy of international development assistance:

> "UUSC is an established social action agency committed to the economic development and social change in Third World countries. Its programs are rooted in and inspired by liberal religious principles which affirm the dignity and worth of every person and the interdependence of all people.
>
> UUSC recognizes that we live in an interdependent world, and resources must be shared. Development provides tools, options and experiences so that people can better their own lives. And development recognizes the value of traditional systems and provides culturally sensitive grassroots strategies for social change."

Do you subscribe to UUSC's philosophy of assistance to African communities? Discuss the positive and negative aspects of this kind of aid.

3. **Updates on the local African resource network (10 minutes)**

   The facilitator asks participants to announce:

   - progress on the list of African resources in the area (people; the local network of African arts; area organizations and coalitions; and relevant libraries and resource centers).
   - recent articles and media coverage on Africa (clippings should be shared on a bulletin board).
   - up-coming Africa-related events (speakers, movies, exhibits, films, festivals, etc.)

4. **Setting the agenda for Session 4: Issue Connections (10 minutes)**

   Before leaving, all participants should know what their responsibilities are. They should:

   - decide on the issue of the group's choice Session 4 provides information on several issues that concern us both domestically and internationally. The group should select one issue: children and youth, environment, food and hunger, or health. If consensus cannot be achieved, the group may prefer to extend the program to 7 sessions, and can select two issues (the group's choice will depend on participants' skills, background, interest, and knowledge)
   - set a time, place and duration for Session 4
   - designate (a) facilitator(s) if necessary
   - designate participant responsible for researching* (see note below) the local context of the issue selected for Session 4 (this could mean preparing a short presentation or inviting a local authority on the issue to speak to the group)
   - assign reading of the overview of the articles for the selected issue to all participants
   - designate participants responsible for reporting on certain readings, if all participants aren't able to read all the articles for the issue selected for Session 4
   - nominate person(s) who will bring African-style refreshments to the next meeting.

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* Finding out about an issue in your community may mean "research" beyond the information readily available in this handbook. This doesn't mean hours of poring over books, but more interactive information-collecting processes, such as:

- meetings and interviews with reporters, policy makers, local officials, public relations office, neighborhood associations, coalitions, advocacy groups
- attending city council hearings or town meetings
- survey phone calls to different agencies
- trips to the library (to look at reference books, annual, reports, bulletin boards)

Overview of the Readings for Session 3: Economic Connections

Centuries ago, African empires flourished as camel caravans journeyed across the Sahara desert, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean on trade routes that connected them with the Greek and Roman Empires, Arab emirates, the Indian subcontinent, and even China. Yet today, as African nations approach their third decade of political independence, we hear of how Africa is unable to govern itself, to feed itself, indeed, to *survive* without foreign assistance.

The readings that follow center on the economic relationships between Africa, Europe and the U.S., particularly on neocolonialism and its role in the foreign aid "game." How did Africa move from a continent of autonomous empires to colonialism and the present condition of dependency? Where does the African debt come from? What alternatives do African nations have?

A description of an African trading city in the 14th and 15th centuries is the subject of article 1. Only much later did European seafaring powers establish trading posts along coastal areas and river mouths. Armed with myths of racial superiority, religious fervor, and military equipment, foreigners have continued to interfere in African affairs for centuries. To ensure control, they brought with them violence and a system of slavery much more inhumane than its indigenous African counterpart. By providing incentives for slavery and trading guns, described in article 2, the European traders were able to pit African against African.

Today, African nations approach their third decade of political independence, but large-scale foreign influence continues to bring to question the level of economic independence these nations have. On a macro-level, prices African nations receive for their natural resources and agricultural products are controlled by a larger world market. In most African countries, the presence of a multitude of foreign-funded "development" projects attests to on-going dependence on outside agencies. Such realities can lead to a dependency condition known as neocolonialism. A poem by a Ghanaian (preceding article 3) states the dilemma of "progress" African nations are facing: whether to stay and possibly stagnate with the old ways, or to follow other countries in a modernization process fraught with inequity and inhumanity.

Even after the slave trade was abolished, colonial rule continued to thrive, reaching a pinnacle at the end of the 1800s, when European politicians sitting in Europe's chandeliered chambers laid claim to the entire continent. Article 3 provides historical background on how European nations sliced up the African "pie," and the impact of these boundaries on the continent today. According to article 4, ties between African nations and their former ruling colonial power remain strong, as in the case of France. The author contends that African heads of state are more likely to appear for meetings with French officials than represent their nation's interests at meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

We're likely to equate foreign aid with gifts of food and money. In reality, however, most U.S. foreign assistance is either military or allocated in the form of loans to be repaid with interest. Grants represent only a tiny percentage of the aid budget. Aid was initially established as a mechanism to fight the threat of communism. Even today, it is still most often given for strategic reasons to help align countries on the donor's side. Africa has consistently received the lowest levels of aid of any developing region. Ironically, Africa is currently scheduled to pay back $1 billion more on loans to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) than it is receiving in IMF loans.

"When Foreign Aid Fails" (article 5), talks of notorious "white elephant" projects funded by large multilateral funders — particularly the World Bank and the IMF — and of difficult lessons learned in the past. For much of the 1960s and 1970s, expensive, high-tech projects were built on a capitalist philosophy modeled after the Western industrialized world.

A quarter century of sometimes irresponsible lending has led to a debt crisis of phenomenal proportions in Africa. Article 6 provides further background on where this debt comes from and what it means for Africa's future, as countries slash their social programs (nutrition, health and education programs) to keep up with debt payments. The author reiterates recent U.N. findings that the highest price of the debt burden is paid by Africa's children. Alternatives such as "debt forgiveness" and "loans for debt" are currently heatedly debated by African governments and foreign lending institutions, who have prescribed strict remedies of economic reform (e.g., the World Bank's structural adjustment programs), usually at enormous social costs. What is clear is that the same debt which represents an insurmountable burden to an individual African economy is a mere drop in the bucket for the world economy.

Against the mounting criticism of the "debt trap," neocolonialism and foreign aid, certain positive initiatives have emerged. If African nations cannot stand up against the world market individually, collectively they can. Regional economic organizations which include just about all of Africa's nations are steadily gaining clout (see pages 236-238). SADCC, described in article 7, is an excellent example of collective economic bargaining organized to counter the South African destabilization campaign.

People's initiatives, such as those described in article 8, show that, given minimal materials and the freedom to act collectively, African resourcefulness can lead to the development of food cooperatives, credit unions, and other community self-improvement measures.

With its 50-year legacy of providing aid, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC) has espoused a unique philosophy of funding local African community-based groups. Unlike other funders, UUSC does not have offices in Africa or fund foreign technical assistants. The story of "Vive le Paysan" (article 9), a UUSC-funded farmers' cooperative in Burkina Faso demonstrates the power of local autonomy and decision-making that characterize UUSC-funded programs.

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Article 1: from *A Guide to African History* by Basil Davidson.

EAST AFRICAN GLORY

In the year 1331 an educated man from the city of Fez in Morocco traveled down the long east coast of Africa. His name was Ibn Battuta. Along the coast of East Africa he found peace and wellbeing. He passed through many important trading cities and some smaller towns. He was made welcome by rulers and businessmen and teachers. But the famous city of Kilwa pleased him more than any other. "Kilwa," he wrote, "is one of the most beautiful and well-constructed towns in the world."

Today only a shabby village stands there. Yet beyond the village can still be found the walls and towers of ruined palaces and large houses and mosques, which is what Moslems call their churches. A great palace has been dug out of the bushes that covered it for hundreds of years. It is a strange and beautiful ruin on a cliff over the Indian Ocean. Many other ruins stand nearby. But the strangest thing about Kilwa and the towns nearby is that there is little to be found about them in the new history books. Even when the cities are described, they are said to be not African, but the work of people from Arabia or Persia.

History books that say this are out of date, and they are wrong. People who have studied these cities on the east coast say that the cities were an important part of Africa's life between the years 1000 and 1700. And these cities were African, or, to be more exact, Swahili. This is the name of the people of the coast of Kenya and Tanganyika and the island of Zanzibar. [In 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined to form the Republic of Tanzania.]

The story of these great cities goes far, far back in time. More than 2,000 years ago, at the beginning of the Iron Age in central-southern Africa, small trading villages grew up along this coast. They were marketplaces for the goods traded between East Africa and other countries along the Indian Ocean, especially Arabia. In these trading villages the sailors and traders did business and visited with African friends and families, stayed and lived with them, married and made their own homes. These facts are found in an Egyptian-Greek guidebook on trading and sailing in the east coast waters. The guide was probably written in the first century A.D., which is the time right after the birth of Christ.

About 1,200 years ago, many people from southern Arabia moved to the islands along the east coast of Africa. They brought their Moslem religion with them. Soon they married and made homes among the people of the coast.

At the same time, trade increased all around the Indian Ocean. There were busy seaports all the way from southern China to Kilwa and the nearby cities. Things made in China began to reach Kilwa. East African ivory began to reach China. Trading also went on with India and the countries of the Persian Gulf and Arabia.

Then African people far inland from the Indian Ocean began to offer gold for the things they needed from other countries, the most important of which was cotton for clothing. The cities of the coast took the gold and sold it to other countries. Gold became more important than ivory for trading, though ivory was still in demand. Southeast Africa became as famous for its gold, among the countries of the East, as Ghana was among the countries of the West.

Gold from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as we now call those countries, began to leave the seaports of East Africa in the tenth century. A few hundred years later the traders of Kilwa had charge of this gold trade. They became very rich. They made all traders from other countries pay heavy taxes on what was sold and bought. Kilwa grew and became a clean and comfortable city.

There were many other big trading cities—big enough to be called city-states or even city-empires because they controlled large areas. There were also many smaller ones. Their rulers were in touch with many large countries of the Far East. Around the year 1400, for example, one African city sent a giraffe to the emperor of China. We know this happened because there is a Chinese painting of this giraffe, and the painting has words on it which tell the story of the gift. A few years later the Chinese emperor sent back gifts with a friendly fleet of many ships and thousands of sailors.

The trading that went on across the Indian Ocean was the work of many different peoples. The Swahili were the people on the African side. They were very important in Africa's history. There were Swahili poets who wrote in the Arabic language and in their native language. Storytellers sang of the adventures of famous men. Traders brought fine pots and jars from China and India and Persia and displayed them so that their friends and customers could enjoy seeing them.

Then trouble came to these trading cities. In 1497, Vasco da Gama, a famous sailor from Portugal, sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, which is at the southern end of Africa. Other Portuguese captains who followed Vasco da Gama attacked and robbed city after city. They destroyed the Indian Ocean trade.

The cities on the southeastern coast, especially Kilwa, never really got over this time of pirate raids. The cities of the northern coast came through better. The pirates did not attack them as violently, and in time they were able to grow again.

Later—in the 1700's—the language of the Swahili began to be widely written. Men wrote about the events of their own day. They also wrote about the glories of the past. They were not, we may remember, the only people in Africa writing in their own language. Far across on the other side of Africa, the educated people of the western Sudan were doing the same. If most African people did not know how to write—and, living in close tribal groups, they had no need for writing—it is still important to remember those people who did know how to write and who, like the Swahili people, used this knowledge well.

Article 2: from *Through African Eyes* by Leon E. Clark.

Slaves, Guns, More Slaves

One question that always arises when discussing the slave trade is this: how could Africans sell their own people?

To begin with, a form of slavery had existed in Africa for 500 years before the coming of the Europeans, but African slavery was far more humane than what developed under the trans-Atlantic system. Traditional African slaves were usually prisoners of war who were often returned to their own people for a price, but were sometimes sold as slaves to work for others. More often than not, however, such slaves were allowed to earn money, own land, and intermarry with the local population. They also developed skills like boat-building that made them important and therefore accepted members of society. This type of integration never took place under European and American slavery.

Nevertheless, the fact that slavery already existed in Africa made it possible for Europeans to offer merchandise and expect to receive people in return. Some African chiefs and kings sold their prisoners of war to the Europeans; in exchange they often received guns, which greatly added to their power. The chiefs without guns were then put at a distinct disadvantage.

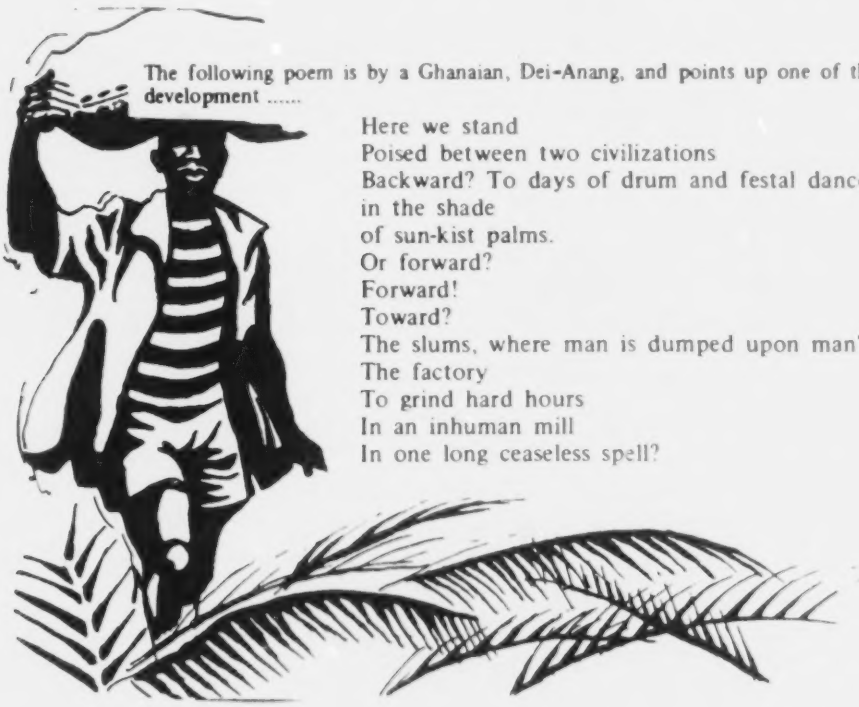
Almost overnight, it became necessary for a chief to possess guns in order to maintain his power. Otherwise his people would be taken by opposing chiefs. And since the guns came from the Europeans, and the Europeans demanded slaves in exchange, more and more African chiefs began to engage in the selling of prisoners. Guns, and therefore slavery, became a necessary part of survival.

In a very real sense, then, Africans were forced by this vicious cycle to sell other Africans.

Moreover, the Europeans competed among themselves for slaves, which escalated the entire enterprise even further. If the English, for example, gave guns to a cooperative chief, then the Dutch, the French, or the Portuguese felt that they had to give guns to their "friends," for otherwise the English would get all the slaves. The net result of this arms race was a great increase in hostilities among Africans. The Europeans, then *increased* warfare; they did not decrease it, as is sometimes thought. More warfare, after all, resulted in more prisoners and therefore more slaves—exactly what the Europeans wanted.

The selection that follows shows the escalation trap that many African traders fell into. The first two parts, "Slaves" and "Guns," are adapted from the writings of William Bosman, a Dutch slave trader who worked in West Africa at the end of the seventeenth century. The last part of the selection, "More Slaves," is adapted from a first-hand account written by a Swedish traveler, C.B. Wadstrom, in the late eighteenth century.

"Towards What." from *The Development Puzzle* by Nance Lui Gyson .



The following poem is by a Ghanaian, Dei-Anang, and points up one of the many conflicts of development .....

Here we stand
Poised between two civilizations
Backward? To days of drum and festal dances
in the shade
of sun-kist palms.
Or forward?
Forward!
Toward?
The slums, where man is dumped upon man?...
The factory
To grind hard hours
In an inhuman mill
In one long ceaseless spell?

Article 3: "How Europeans Sliced up Africa" by Glenn Frankel, *The Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1985.

How Europeans Sliced Up Africa

Borders Drawn a Century Ago Assured Today's Tensions

By Glenn Frankel

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Africa is quietly marking an important centennial between November and February, but it is not an occasion for trumpets, speeches or champagne.

It is the 100th anniversary of the Berlin Conference, an extraordinary conclave of European diplomats that divided Africa into spheres of influence and ushered in an era of colonial rule whose effects still can be seen across the continent.

At a time when African famine is again on the front page and when the West is viewing the continent and its daunting problems with a mixture of sympathy, horror and disdain, it is instructive to recall those days when Europe carved up Africa like a Christmas turkey, with each participant fighting for his favorite piece. Many of the problems that haunt Africa today have their origins at that diplomatic table.

The conference was a brief breathing spell in what became known as the "scramble for Africa." After nibbling at the edges of the continent for several centuries, the Europeans in the 1870s began a mad rush into the interior. Armed with superior weapons, Bibles and makeshift treaties, imperial agents laid claim to more than 10 million square miles of territory and 100 million people in the space of a decade.

It was a haphazard, chaotic process and one that threatened several times to plunge the European powers into war. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who abhorred chaos and wanted to ensure Germany a piece of the spoils, decided it was time to lay down some ground rules. His French and British counterparts, who were the main competitors in Africa, agreed.

Fourteen western nations attended the three-month session. Conspicuous by their absence were those who had the most at stake — the Africans. But there was little hypocrisy: no one pretended the lines were drawn for any interests other than those of the countries at the table. The interests of Africans were never a factor.

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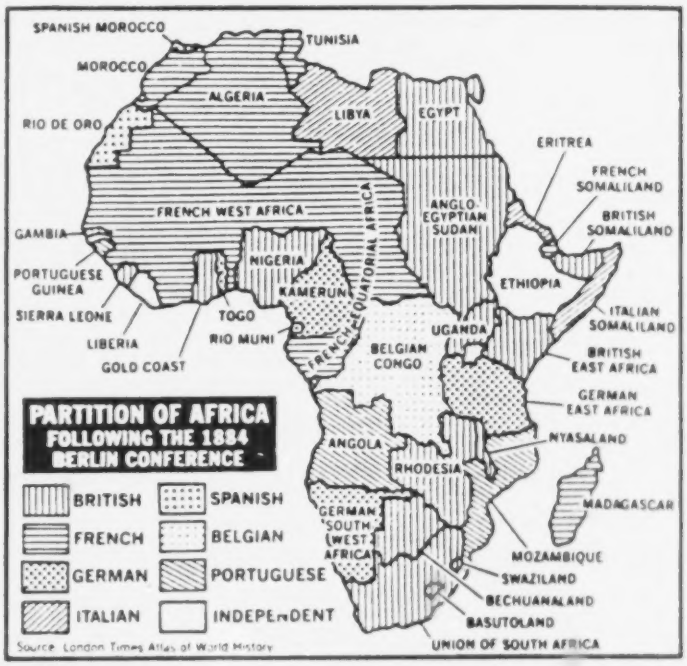
"The Europeans came and assumed command of African history," wrote British historian Basil Davidson, "and the solutions they found were solutions for themselves, not for Africans."

The Africa of a century ago consisted of several hundred independent states, some large and powerful and well advanced, others smaller, weaker and more primitive. When the Europeans finished drawing their lines, these states had been condensed into about 40 pieces of territory.

It was not an easy or neat process. Ethnic groups were cleaved into fragments — the Ovambo were split in half by the boundary line that cause the British thought it best to placate Bismarck. Similarly, Portugal was given reign over territory 22 times larger than itself mostly because Lisbon's British allies used the Portugese as a tool to deny African land to their principal competitors in Paris. Belgium's King Leopold won the grand prize: the mineral-rich lease to what became the Belgian Congo.



At first, Africans paid little attention to the new lines, which seemed to have everything to do with European rivalries and little to do with them. But gradually the paper lines on the map became real borders, not only to the Europeans but to the Africans themselves. Africa's acquiescence be- Africans together, became a tragicomic monument to their enduring separation.

But borders alone do not make nations, and this has been one of the cruelest lessons recent history has taught Africa. In countries such as Angola, Uganda, Burundi, Nigeria and even South Africa, the concept of nationhood is at best only marginally understood. Most of these countries lack a George Washington — someone from the political or cultural past whom everyone can admire and who provides the glue to hold diverse groups together.

Lacking that glue, Africa has become atomized into smaller, conflicting groups. People identify themselves by tribe, ideology, profession, religion or economic class, seldom by nation.

Thus it is not too surprising that in the 27 years since Ghana became the first colonial state to gain independence, Africa has suffered through a dozen wars, 70 military coups and the assassination of 13 heads of state. It has 5 million refugees — more than any other continent — and they, too, are part of the harvest of maladjusted borders and nations that exist mostly on paper.

In analyzing Africa's woes, Africans themselves tend to blame their problems on European colonialism. Westerners, on the other hand, tend to treat the continent as a blank slate whose real history only began at independence and whose problems can be laid at the feet of corrupt African leaders and misplaced priorities.

Both, of course, are right, and both are wrong, but the Westerners who during the last three decades have been so free with their advice and criticism of the new Africa should not forget that it was their ancestors who designed, constructed and launched the continent's modern history 100 years ago in Berlin.

The Washington Post
— January 6, 1985
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Article 4: "The French in Africa: Old Ecole Ties" by James Brooke, *The New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1988.

The French in Africa: Old Ecole Ties

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

CASABLANCA, Morocco, Dec. 19 — Staged in the throne room of a palace here, the family photo of the annual French-African summit meeting presented a vignette of modern Africa: President François Mitterrand surrounded by 21 African heads of state and government.

By contrast, only nine African leaders turned out last May for the 25th anniversary meeting of the Organization of African Unity, a pan-African group.

Three decades after the flags of independent nations started running up flagpoles across Africa, one of the former colonial rulers, France, has reworked its role to become the most important — and some say the most welcome — foreign actor on the continent.

In much of sub-Saharan Africa, France is the largest aid donor, largest educator and largest trading partner. If Cuba withdraws its 50,000 troops from Angola as it agreed to do last week, the largest contingent of foreign troops in Africa in the 1990's most likely will be French.

Reflecting the continent's tattered economic state, Africa's independent nations increasingly cling to the outstretched hand of this former colonial ruler. One yardstick is the annual summit meeting. Started in 1971 as an informal gathering for France and her former colonies, the first summit meeting drew delegations from 10 African countries.

The 15th meeting, which ended here Dec. 16, drew delegations from 34 African countries, including 16 former French colonies, 8 former British colonies and all the former African colonies of Belgium, Portugal and Spain. Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar is the only French-speaking African leader to continue to boycott the meetings. He calls the French neo-colonialists.

"We love Spain, but they never respond," said a television reporter from Equatorial Guinea, a former Spanish colony. "France delivers."

When the bills are added up — loans to the Ivory Coast, troops in Chad, training for 200 African Olympic athletes — France emerges as the rich uncle for much of sub-Saharan Africa, a region that includes some of the world's poorest countries.

In 1987, France was the largest aid donor. Its aid, $2.5 billion, was three times the United States' and six times the aid from Britain, France's historic rival for influence in Africa. Measured as a percentage of gross national product, France gave sub-Saharan Africa nine times the aid that the United States did in 1986.

France also leads in education. In 1986, 75,162 Africans studied at French universities — twice the number at American schools and seven times the number at British universities.

In the military arena, France since 1970 has doubled the number of agreements with African nations to 26. Each year, about 200 African officers undergo training in France. In return, about 1,000 French officers serve as advisers to 11 African armies, and about 8,000 French troops are stationed in six African countries: the Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti, Gabon, the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

In a region of political instability, a number of African leaders owe their survival to French intervention; since 1960, French troops have intervened in Africa 17 times.

Indeed, the French-African love affair is such that none of the black African delegates at the recent meeting questioned France's flourishing trade with South Africa.

Instead, they praised Paris' decision in June to cancel one-third of the debt owed it by sub-Saharan nations. The Africans asked Mr. Mitterrand to be their advocate before other industrial countries on the problems of debt and low commodity prices.

France has reaped also linguistic and economic dividends in Africa. The continent is one of the few regions of the world where the use of the French is expanding. French television programs reach wider audiences, and in two countries, Portuguese-speaking Guinea-Bissau and Spanish-speaking Equatorial Guinea, linguists predict that French could easily become the dominant language within two generations. Surrounded by French-speaking nations, each country has hundreds of students studying French in courses subsidized by the French Government.

But French glory in Africa may be undermined by economics. The prices of African commodities — crude oil, coffee and cocoa, among them — have slumped sharply in recent years. Arrears on debts are mounting, purchases of French goods are dropping and economic activity is slowing throughout Africa.

Much of the economic growth in 12 former French colonies has been built on a stable currency — the C.F.A., or African, franc. Since 1948, France has guaranteed a fixed parity of one French franc to 50 African francs. A franc zone — the bloc of former colonies where the African currency is the universal legal tender — was once reviled as a neo-colonialist institution. Now it has a waiting list of former Portuguese and British colonies.

But with export earnings dropping, the African franc zone went into deficit in 1985 for the first time. Now, pressure for devaluation has come from such international lenders as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The French economic presence in Africa is shrinking. After dropping steadily in the 1980's, French trade with the bloc of countries that use the African franc now accounts for only 1.5 percent of France's foreign trade. And in a milestone of sorts, Japan overtook France in 1987 to become the continent's largest supplier of new cars.

Article 5: "When Foreign Aid Fails" by Jack Shepherd, *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Twenty years of Western assistance have done little to help, and much to harm, the Africans' ability to feed themselves

WHEN FOREIGN AID FAILS

BY JACK SHEPHERD

ILLUSTRATIONS BY PHILIPPE WEISBECKER

DURING THE PAST FEW months Americans have witnessed an enormous outpouring of emergency food aid into Africa. But while relief workers toil in the dusty feeding camps of that beleaguered continent, bureaucrats in Western capitals are asking questions that reach far beyond the current starvation to the basic issue of Africa's survival. Some of these questions are troubling:

Has aid from the West been wasted on ill-conceived projects that have largely failed?

Has this aid actually contributed to—or even worsened—the problems it was intended to alleviate?

If past projects have failed, what kind of long-term development assistance should Africa receive?

The answers to these questions carry profound implications. They will lead to policies that will in turn determine how fast, and in what manner, Africa recovers. They will shape the levels of support the World Bank, the United States, and other international donors will give to African development projects that are intended to help Africa's farmers return to their land and grow their own food. And they will affect the internal economic and political policies of at least twenty-six African nations that now need emergency food aid and long-term assistance.

Everyone agrees that Africa is in immediate peril. Some 150 million Africans—perhaps one person in every three below the Sahara—are in dire need of emergency food. Five million African children died from hunger-related causes in 1984, and millions of Africans face permanent physical and mental damage from chronic malnutrition. In most sub-Saharan nations emergency food aid will be needed throughout this year to combat what is being called the worst famine of the century.

Everyone also agrees that African nations and relief organizations must start working together to create the conditions for the recovery of Africa's land, agriculture, and people. But the United States and the international development agencies don't agree with Africans or with each other about what has caused Africa's plight, or on what should be done about it.

Most Africans claim that the causes are external to Africa: the low prices for the continent's export crops (such as coffee, tea, cocoa), the high cost of imported energy (up 757 percent between 1960 and 1978), and the increase in Africa's debt from $5.7 billion in 1970 to more than $51.3 billion by 1983. The gap between Africa's export revenues and its import expenditures reached $10.7 billion in 1983, and the outflow for repayment of debts is now greater than the inflow of loans. According to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (and others), Africans must continue to grow cash crops in order to earn foreign exchange that will enable them to repay their debts. But the falling prices of cash crops—prices that, Africans claim, are controlled by Western markets—restrict Africa's ability to repay debts and to import necessary items like food.

The World Bank, the IMF, international relief agencies, and most Western governments, including the United States government, say that conditions *inside* sub-Saharan Africa cause the problem. They cite policies of many Af-

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rican governments which, by holding down food prices in the cities, favor the urban consumer over the rural producer; the lack of incentives to peasant farmers; and a fragile and deteriorating natural environment. Also, the population growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa averages 3.2 percent per year and has reached 4.1 percent in Kenya, the Ivory Coast, and Botswana (those countries' populations will double in seventeen years), and the area's rural-to-urban migration rate is eight percent a year. As a result, whereas in 1950 only three African cities had populations of more than 500,000, now twenty-nine cities are that large and several have more than a million inhabitants. This urbanization has also changed African eating habits; city dwellers have come to prefer imported wheat and rice to traditional foods like yams, cassava, and millet.

ON ONE KEY ISSUE, HOWEVER, DONORS AND AFRICANS do agree: the aid provided during the past two decades has helped little, and the existing aid programs need reappraisal. Before the colonial period African agriculture was geared to self-sufficiency in food production. Most societies fed themselves, although famines were not unheard of; the first recorded famine in Ethiopia, for example, occurred in the ninth century. But when hunger came, people dipped into reserves or migrated. African farmers, tilling fragile and easily destroyed soils, also practiced terracing, crop rotation, green manuring, and mixed farming.

During almost a century of colonial rule African agriculture was transformed. Colonial governments favored large-scale plantation operations that produced cash crops for the benefit of the colonial power. Independent African farmers got pushed onto marginal land or, more often, into soil-poor native reserves; some had to work on the large cash-crop farms or in town. Still, many African nations were self-sufficient with respect to food, or were even exporting food, in the early 1960s.

With independence, however, African governments promoted industrialization at the expense of food production, while continuing the colonial pattern of producing cash crops to earn foreign exchange. Food imports increased in the two decades after most of Africa became independent, and as world prices for cash crops fell and populations grew rapidly and debts rose, many new African governments found themselves struggling to feed their people.

During the 1970s African governments inaugurated a range of projects aimed at increasing domestic-food production. The ones most widely favored—funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, and other international agencies—were large, mechanized, and highly capitalized. Moreover, investment in food production often favored crops consumed by people in the cities: wheat, rice, and sugar.

A vast portion of the aid went to what some donors now admit were "easy options"—projects that drew on donor expertise and promised a rapid rate of return. Some of the schemes involved tractors, chemical fertilizers, irrigation, and large-scale state farms. Money also went into highly visible projects such as highways, hospitals in urban areas, and convention halls. But deep plowing and the use of chemical fertilizers did not increase yields, and perhaps even threatened an African farming system that had evolved over centuries. The Green Revolution, so successful in parts of Asia, did not transplant well to Africa, with its fragile soils, variable climates, and need for irrigation. Irrigation projects tended to produce a great deal of food but at a cost of $20,000 a hectare, and sometimes they drew off farm labor better used elsewhere, or spread schistosomiasis and other waterborne diseases. Furthermore, as the London-based organization Earthscan recently reported, irrigated land in Africa becomes barren when it accumulates salt or when poor drainage leads to waterlogging. Earthscan's study concluded that for every acre successfully irrigated during the 1970s in Africa, another acre of farmland became useless and was abandoned.

A sampling of major agricultural projects might include a scheme started at Mopti, along the Niger River, in West Africa, nine years ago. A capital-intensive irrigation project, it was designed to increase rice production. But production fell, from fifty bags per hectare to fifteen bags, because of an infestation of wild rice and the low resistance of imported rice seeds to irregular and inadvertent flooding.

In Tanzania a Canadian-aided wheat scheme begun in 1970 has cost some $44 million. Sixty thousand acres of land were taken from a pastoral people, the Barbaig, who were pushed onto marginal areas that have by now been overgrazed by their cattle. Moreover, according to a report quoted by Colin Hines and Barbara Dinham in *The Ecologist*, "Technology being applied to these large-scale fully mechanized operations is alarmingly similar to the technology used in western Canada which contributed to the catastrophic soil erosions (dust bowls) of the 1930s." The Tanzanian farms were laid out prairie style, and rainstorms cut huge gullies through the fields.

During the 1970s the Sudan started up several sugar operations, with the hope of exporting sugar to richer Arab neighbors. Two small operations have been successful, but four others are bogged down in technical and managerial problems and cost overruns. One of the largest sugar operations in the world got under way in 1974 in Kenana. The cost had been estimated at $150 million; the final bill for the start-up was $613 million. The scheme called for a forty-megawatt electrical station, a network of conduits and canals up to twenty miles long, a pumping station to lift the Nile waters 150 feet from the canals to the fields, and a factory to crush 170,000 tons of sugarcane a day. Roads and

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transport were also needed to move the sugar a thousand miles to Port Sudan. But power shortages crippled the pumping station and the factory. Fuel costs made transportation expensive, and what irrigation took place spread schistosomiasis. In the end the Sudanese government may have to subsidize its sugar-export program.

Not all Western development projects have failed. In Guinea-Bissau, for example, a United States aid project helped hundreds of small farmers to increase their rice yields by 400 to 900 percent in just two years. Nearly all the rice is consumed locally.

Nor have all the failures been Western. Soviet economic aid to Africa has been so uniformly unsuccessful that the Russians have cut their already minuscule programs and given priority to the sale of arms and energy, which generates the return of hard currency. During the 1960s and early 1970s, however, the Soviets offered big projects to the Africans. At Diamou, Mali, for example, the Russians built a cement factory with a capacity of 50,000 tons a year—and then discovered that the road and rail systems could not handle this output and that there were no markets nearby anyway. A Russian meat-canning plant in Somalia operated at only 5.3 percent of capacity, because few cattle were available (Africans generally regard cattle as investments against future hardship) and because Somalis prefer fresh meat to canned. A Soviet fish-processing plant also failed, because it was too large and too far from the sea.

Western development assistance, however, unlike that from the Communist bloc, has focused on African agriculture. The failure to feed Africa is largely its failure. During the 1970s the West poured some $22.5 billion in economic development aid into sub-Saharan Africa—the area most affected by starvation today. The amount is now more than $7.77 billion a year (beyond the cost of emergency aid).

The results have been dismal. In sub-Saharan Africa per capita food production decreased in the 1970s by an average of 1.2 percent a year. Production of major food crops fell 14 percent—and continues to fall, by two percent a year—while the volume of food imports increased by an average of 9.5 percent annually. By 1981 sub-Saharan Africa required 3.7 million tons of food aid each year. Now the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports that the region will need 9.6 million tons of food aid in 1985. Put another way, by the end of this year one in five Africans—the equivalent of the entire urban population—will be living solely on imported food aid.

What happened? The simplest answer is that only a small proportion of economic aid was actually invested in Africa's agriculture. Of $7.5 billion given during the 1970s to eight West African countries, for example, only 24 percent was spent on agriculture and less than 12 percent reached rural areas. Even less got to smallholders, who are thought to be Africa's most productive farmers.

The World Bank, in a report issued last September, said that donor nations had pressured African governments during the 1970s to take on projects that were expensive, inappropriate in design and selection, and too large, and that "contributed little to economic growth or to generating foreign exchange to service the debt." These projects—which the Bank called "white elephants"—had been selected for their potential in enhancing a nation's political prestige (a large state-farms scheme in Zambia, for example) and without regard for the economic rate of return (the sugar-production plan in the Sudan).

Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanzania:

"... growth must come out of our own roots, not through the grafting on to those roots of something which is alien to our society. We shall draw sustenance from universal human ideas and from the practical experiences of other peoples; but we start from a full acceptance of our African-ness and a belief that in our own past there is very much which is useful for our future...

President Nyerere, in a 1975 address:[2]

. . . A serious attack on the problems of poverty and intolerable disparities of wealth demands a change in the whole economic activity. Instead of aiming at the maximisation of wealth, and the power over others which comes with it, we have to direct our efforts towards the creation of reasonable standards of living for all people. This applies to the rich and poor – nationally and internationally. Nations which are already wealthy have to accept that they are members of the world, with the right to a fair share of the world's resources but no more. They have to bend their minds, and their economic and political systems, to achieving a fair internal distribution of their existing wealth. They should not expect to continue to deal with problems of comparative poverty within their own nation at the expense of people abroad who are poorer than the poorest. And the poor nations have to face facts too. They need to stop trying to ape the rich. They have to accept that "closing the gap" does not mean, and cannot mean, attaining for themselves a western style or level of consumption . . .

. . . Eradicating human poverty demands careful planning and phased action to move the industrialised world – and the industrial sectors of the poor nations – towards producing for human need and not human greed . . .

Article 6: "Sentenced to Debt," *Africa News*, April 18, 1988.

Food and livestock production declined in the last decade as Africa turned to cash crops for foreign exchange.

Sentenced to Debt

A few years ago, Hollywood cashed in on America's concern for its beleaguered family farmers with a spate of movies including *The River, Places in the Heart* and *Country.*

What the films had in common were their portrayals of farmers up against a system they could not alter or control or even – in most cases – understand. In *Country,* Sam Shepherd's character confronts the local banker with a dilemma that is well-known across the American heartland:

when grain prices were high, banks recommended that family farmers expand their operations by buying expensive machinery and other forms of technology on credit; but when prices fell and it became impossible for landowners to make loan payments, the banks bailed out. What had seemed to be a hand-in-hand arrangement to usher in an industry boom turned sour, and farmers like those represented by Shepherd were left holding the bag.

Similarly, but on a far grander scale, sub-Saharan Africa was encouraged to borrow large sums of money from foreign governments and commercial lenders for the development of its commodities industries during the 1970s. For many years, rich farmland was given over to up-to-date and out-of-place factories; people turned away from food crops to produce the cash crops

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the "developed" world craved; and the continent's skin was peeled back to yield metals and minerals prized in the West.

Money disappeared along the way. African political and business leaders got more than their share, as did hard-to-trace Western contractors to whom projects were steered by cronies with political clout.

But it is a mistake to assign Africa's current debt crisis solely – or even principally – to corruption and mismanagement. The harsh realities of world commodities markets, along with natural disasters, war, and soaring international interest rates, have contributed to Africa's current condition.

In her new book called *A Fate Worse Than Debt*, Susan George writes: "The sad truth is that if Africa dropped off the map, international business would scarcely notice. Africa represents a mere 4% of world trade, and though it remains a potentially rich continent, those who exploit it can usually find the same resources elsewhere, often with less hassle (e.g. uranium in Australia) and lower political risk (e.g. as caused by apartheid)."

George explains that Africa's prime foreign exchange earners are not only being found elsewhere, but are, in many cases, being substituted for or done without altogether. Fiber-optic phones lines are rapidly reducing the demand for Zambian copper. Plastics and other synthetics are replacing natural fibers like hemp and sisal. Coffee and cocoa are treated as luxury items in the West if they become too expensive. And health concerns are causing a scale-back in the demand for products as basic as sugar.

Classic economic models of supply and demand apply: as Africa's commodities – the raw materials on which the continent has depended for foreign exchange for centuries – are less and less sought after, prices drop. And when prices drop, neither governments nor individuals earn enough money to supply basic needs. Farmers who gave up on food production to grow cash crops, and who therefore came to depend on imported food items, are left with valueless crops and no money to buy food.

George maintains that Western creditors and the organizations that represent them – like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank – have left Africa holding a decidedly empty bag. "If the continent survives its current crisis, it will be a tribute to the resourcefulness of Africans and nothing else," she says. "They are getting precious little help from outside."

Yes and no. Without doubt, Africa will bear by far the greatest share of responsibility for its own survival. To that end, schemes deemed radical by Western creditors are being proposed by, among other organizations, the African Development Bank and the South-South Commission, headed by Tanzania's Julius Nyerere.

But there is also some hope that Africa won't have to go it alone, if only because the Fund, the Bank and other lenders find the debtors' proposals unpalatable enough to warrent a response. The UN Secretary-General's Advisory Group on Financial Flows for Africa put out a highly publicized paper on debt relief in February, and a call issued at an Organization of African Unity meeting last December to cancel all outstanding debt may have been the final push the West needed to shake its complacency.

At the urging of African Development Bank President Babacar N'diaye, Zaire may, within the next two months, present a test case for a new form of debt relief to the Paris Club of commercial creditors. Zaire has successfully rescheduled payments on its unwieldy debt – now approaching $6 billion – eight times in ten years, and is gearing up for its ninth attempt. Because Zaire's indebtedness is largely, if not entirely, the result of internal corruption – and because the central African nation's predilection for frequent rescheduling of payments is well-known – it is a prime candidate for the Development Bank's new program, which will guarantee steady repayment of loan principal in exchange for below-market interest rates. Zaire, along with any of the 14 other African countries currently poised to join the program, would be allowed to convert its debt into securities that carry long-term maturities with fixed interest rates predicated on the country's perceived ability to pay. The total debt would be repaid at maturity from a redemption fund, into which the debtor nation would make regular payments under the supervision of the Development Bank. The scheme worries international creditors, however, who fear that it would set a dangerous precedent for mega-debtors in Latin America.

Even if the Development Bank proposals do not pass international muster, they have underscored for creditors the desperate conditions of sub-Saharan Africa's poorest nations, and the debate is on.

At a United Nations-organized conference in Khartoum, Sudan last month, the subject under discussion was "the human dimension of Africa's economic recovery." Representatives of debtor nations and international lenders came together to assess the costs of IMF- and World Bank-mandated programs that have, according to the debtors, left Africa poorer, less politically stable and more reliant than ever on grants and loans from the West.

At the end of the conference, Senior World Bank Economist Stephen O'Brien admitted that the Bank "didn't know enough" about the human costs "when we first entered into this process of helping African governments design adjustment programs," which have led to the removal of food, health and education subsidies and other drastic cutbacks in social services provided by most African debtors (see accompanying stories).

The Khartoum Declaration, issued by the conference, states that "nutrition imbalances are as crucial as trade imbalances. High infant mortality requires just as immediate and as serious attention as high rates of inflation or huge budget deficits ... . Therefore, a basic test for all stabilization, adjustment and development programs is whether they will improve the human condition from their inception or on the contrary worsen it."

As the two following reports warn, African leaders are growing impatient with adjustment programs that demand unending sacrifice from a continent which is, in fact, a net exporter of funds to the West (see graph, page 5). The costs of servicing sub-Saharan Africa's estimated $150 billion debt – including immeasurable losses of human potential – are, increasingly, seen as too high to be borne. ■

Article 7: Washington Office on Africa Education Fund, "Southern African Development Coordination Conference — SADCC" Fact Sheet.

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA EDUCATIONAL FUND
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FACT SHEET

SADCC: The Southern African Development Coordination Conference

What is SADCC?

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) (pronounced "saddick") is **an association of nine majority-ruled states of southern Africa. Through regional cooperation SADCC works to accelerate economic growth, improve the living conditions of the people of southern Africa, and reduce the dependence of member states on South Africa.** SADCC is primarily an economic grouping of states with a variety of ideologies, and which have contacts with countries from all blocs. It seeks cooperation and support from the international community as a whole.

Who is SADCC?

The Member States of SADCC are:

Angola*
Botswana*
Lesotho
Malawi
Mozambique*
Swaziland
Tanzania*
Zambia*
Zimbabwe*

The liberation movements of southern Africa recognized by the Organization of African Unity (the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization) are invited to SADCC Summit meetings as observers.

What Are the Objectives of SADCC?

- The reduction of economic dependence, particularly on the Republic of South Africa;

- The forging of links between member states in order to create genuine and equitable regional integration;
- The mobilization of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies;
- Concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of SADCC's strategy of economic liberation.

At the inaugural meeting of SADCC, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said:

> Let us now face the economic challenge. Let us form a powerful front against poverty and all of its offshoots of hunger, ignorance, disease, crime and exploitation of man by man. Let us form an African

Movement to wage a militant struggle against poverty. Let this Summit be our workshop for sharpening our tools, forging new weapons, working out a new strategy and tactics for fighting poverty and improving the quality of life of our peoples.

When Did SADCC Begin?

In **May 1979** the Foreign Ministers of the **Front Line States*** met in Botswana to discuss economic cooperation. In **July 1979,** a conference was convened at Arusha, Tanzania, to consider economic policies and objectives and it was agreed to invite the other majority-ruled countries in southern Africa to participate in drawing up a regional plan for the development of southern Africa. **SADCC was formally launched by the Lusaka Declaration, *Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation*** which was adopted by the Lusaka Summit of the nine majority-ruled countries of southern Africa in **April 1980.** The Summit also adopted a Program of Action covering food and agriculture, industry, manpower development, and energy. **The Heads of State identified transport and communications as the main priority for SADCC cooperation.**

How Does SADCC Work?

SADCC makes decisions by consensus, depending on discussions between heads of state (the Summit) or ministers (the Council of Ministers) to reach agreement on priorities and programs which will be of benefit to the region and to the member states.

The implementation of SADCC programs is decentralized. Each member state coordinates the work of SADCC in particular areas, for example: transport and communications (Mozambique), food security (Zimbabwe), agricultural research (Botswana), fisheries, wildlife and forestry (Malawi), soil and water conservation (Lesotho), manpower development (Swaziland), industrial development (Tanzania), energy conservation and development (Angola), and mining (Zambia).

Although SADCC has mobilized some local resources for projects, it has had to seek funding—about $5 billion a year—from the international community. **It organizes an annual conference with donors** at which priorities and projects are presented. SADCC has been open to discussion, suggestion and criticism, but has sought to limit the extent to which donors may impose their own priorities.

SADCC and South Africa?

SADCC is a threat to South Africa's plans to dominate southern Africa, and a rejection of its apartheid-led "constellation of southern African states." South Africa seeks to profit by forcing its neighbors, especially land-locked Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana, to use its transportation routes and to trade with it. SADCC, however, envisions that its members will obtain goods, services and transportation from one another, breaking their forced dependence on South Africa and curtailing South Africa's profits and domination. South Africa has felt threatened, also, by the prospect that economically viable majority-ruled states on its borders will weaken its ability to maintain apartheid.

> "The economic success of the countries represented will have an epoch making impact within South Africa and will certainly deal a mortal blow to the policy of apartheid. Our success is important to the people of South Africa and, therefore, to the liberation of the entire continent." (President Kenneth Kaunda, Lusaka, 4/1/80)

South Africa has responded to SADCC's peaceful efforts with military and economic attacks. South Africa is attempting to cripple development, self-reliance, and interdependence and to perpetuate its domination of commerce, finance, manufacturing and transportation. **Estimated losses to member states, as a result of South African destabilization, total $17 billion** for the period 1980-1986. South African, mercenary and surrogate forces (UNITA in Angola, Renamo in Mozambique) have sabotaged road, rail, pipeline and port facilities. Schools and clinics have been destroyed. Attacks have forced the abandonment of essential health, relief and rural development projects. A million people have been forced to flee their homes. Thousands have been killed, maimed and wounded.

SADCC and the United States?

In general, the U.S. response to SADCC, particularly under the "Reagan doctrine," has been based on perceptions of Soviet intentions to dominate southern Africa and has been designed "to stop the spread of communism." U.S. policy is defined, also, in light of existing economic interests in South Africa. The U.S. has sought to involve South Africa in regional economic development and has opposed SADCC's reduction of dependence on South Africa and its condemnation of South African destabilization. **U.S. support for SADCC projects has been a small $30 million annually. However, while funding SADCC, the U.S. has also provided $15 million in military aid to UNITA and contributed to its attacks in Angola.** The vital Angolan Benguela railway, which figures largely in SADCC's plans for a regional transportation system, has been sabotaged repeatedly by UNITA. **The U.S. has restricted its aid to SADCC, for example, refusing to allow Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania to benefit from a grant for sorghum development.**

*The six Frontline States form a political grouping which overlaps but is not synonymous with SADCC. Frontline States are starred in the list in column one of the front page.

Article 8: "Working for our own Needs," by Bill Rau, Bread for the World .

Vegetables, corn and fruit ripen in the community's fields. Water from a deep well regularly flows despite prolonged drought. In western Zimbabwe, people assert greater control over the events and forces which determine their well-being.

In northern Senegal, fields and pastures are green and lush. Here also drought is a recurring event, but people in this area have joined together to reclaim "desert" land and raise food for themselves and for sale.

Bread for the World and others have pointed to the structural causes of Africa's complex problems (Background Papers Nos. 85 and 90). Many people have concluded because of the severity of the Ethiopian famine in 1984-85 that outsiders have the key—with money and knowledge—to African development and that African people themselves eagerly await any type of Western aid. Such a conclusion is false. It obscures the creativity, determination and organizational skills of Africans in addressing the root causes of and finding solutions to their problems, as well as the need for outsiders to carefully target aid to support those efforts. This background paper gives an indication of the scope and depth of problem-solving among groups which are grassroots based and derive their legitimacy from popular action.

For example, women around Mozambique's capital of Maputo began small vegetable gardens in the mid-1970s. The gardens expanded; more women joined in and cooperatives were formed to reduce costs and share labor. These Green Zone cooperatives now supply much of Maputo's food. The government has responded by channeling credit to these cooperatives and stimulating similar Green Zones around other cities.

In Burkina Faso farmers have restored village grain banks—a communal practice discouraged by colonial authorities—as a way to enhance food security and price stability. Community grain banks have since become a central component of renewed rural development efforts supported by the government.

In Kenya, a reforestation program organized primarily by and for women is meeting rural needs for income, firewood and tree cover. Quietly but firmly, the program is setting an example of community involvement and initiative which the government is coming to recognize as essential to deal with the country's environmental problems.

These popular actions are not isolated self-improvement measures. Many grassroots movements are influencing national policies by successful examples and intentional discussions and work with government ministries. The trend is toward policies more favorable to the needs of both rural and urban poor people.

"Our problem is not government; our problem is the war. We are free to travel and preach the gospel. Religion is stronger than before independence."

—Archbishop of Maputo Mozambique

"Many Africans in positions of power...are not genuinely interested in making their people aware of their basic human rights in society...."

—All Africa Conference of Churches

People's Views of Problems

The success and persistence of many grassroots movements across Africa has not occurred without major tensions and challenges from governmental and international interests representing wealthy, powerful groups. Development strategies often promote agricultural production for overseas markets while neglecting local food needs and other aspects of rural well-being. At the same time, governments have sought to expand control over production and the actions of producers. Some grassroots movements have been crushed by this combination of pressures, as occurred in Tanzania in the mid-1960s when the government replaced a viable regional cooperative with its own bureaucratic organization.

Yet other groups have been able to cope with, and thrive on, these pressures. This has been the case among peasants in eastern Senegal, who for more than 20 years have worked together to create food, work and decision-making opportunities for themselves.

They have selectively used their own vast experience of the local environment and farming systems to produce sufficient food for themselves and for sale.

They have struggled with the government marketing agency to assure that they retain some control over the disposal of their crops and the prices they receive.

Article 8 (cont'd.)

They have resisted attempts by government and donors, such as the United States Agency for International Development, to adopt "modern" agricultural techniques. These techniques have the potential to increase production but, as the peasants argue, at the expense of soil fertility, increased risks of food shortages in rain-short seasons, and dependence on outside agencies.

The voice of the people has become stronger and more focused, often through church organizations, in recent years in identifying major, underlying causes of hunger and poverty. Among the reasons cited by Africans for the problems in the continent, the following are dominant.

Warfare is the major immediate cause of hunger in Africa today. Other factors—e.g., deforestation, clinics without supplies—interact with wars to intensify hunger problems, but these conflicts prevent people and their governments from seeking lasting solutions to those other problems.

A second reason often cited is the absence of democracy. Without structures for participation in and accountability of political processes, poor people are excluded from any discussion about development strategies and programs which affect their lives. Development strategies which have not yielded adequate food, water and jobs are being questioned, often privately or in small groups since many countries' governments equate debate with criticism and seek to close off the opportunity for discussion and experimentation. One concern among grassroots groups is that too often the enrichment of already prosperous and powerful people has occurred under the rhetoric of "participatory" development because donors are not intentional enough in working with grassroots groups. As the elites acquire greater wealth, the level of popular discontent grows, leading in turn to increased repression. For many people in Africa, policies and organizations which respond to the interests of rural and urban poor are fundamental to issues of equity, justice and change.

A third reason that Africans cite for their continent's problems is the existence of apartheid. South Africa's system of repressive rule causes hunger and misery; it is extremely violent and provokes violence in turn. South Africa's terrorism also extends well beyond its borders. South Africa has attacked all of the neighboring independent countries in recent years. Those countries estimate that the cost in destroyed buildings, roads and bridges and lost productivity now exceeds $20 billion, an amount in excess of all the outside development assistance given to them since 1980. South Africa's military support for rebels fighting against the people of Mozambique and Angola is a fundamental cause of massive hunger among people there.

Fourth, heavy debt burdens and reform programs imposed to facilitate repayment have constrained governmental actions in ways that have an insidious impact on Africa's poor. In 1985 $1.9 billion more flowed out of sub-Saharan Africa as debt repayment than flowed in as credit and development assistance. The burden of repayment has been placed squarely on low-income groups. As social service spending has decreased, malnutrition rates have increased among children in Zambia and Ghana. Peasants in Kenya have lost land to plantations which produce crops for export in order to earn foreign exchange. Unemployment ravages both urban and rural people.

The United States and other Western governments and agencies all are involved in these problems, as African people know. Africans see U.S. policies and actions as crucial to their development options and opportunities. However, those policies have too often done harm, have strengthened wealthier classes, sustained apartheid, and have directly and indirectly maintained the structures that underlie hunger and poverty. For many poor Africans, development is not only a process of dealing with internal problems but also with those created by external donors. Increasingly, local, grassroots efforts for change, exclusive of government and donor inputs, are viewed as the most viable option to assure self-reliance and self-determination.

"We are suspicious, America: suspicious that the White House is blinded by the whiteness of the oppressor in southern Africa and has no enthusiastic, practical concern for the oppressed because of their blackness. We think it is in your long-term interest —it is in the interests of justice, peace and order that instead of exporting Stinger missiles...to the oppressors and their surrogates, you should be exporting support to progressive freedom lovers in South Africa and Namibia, and the front-line states. We expect Uncle Sam to export democracy, justice and peace."

—Simon T. Farisani
Lutheran pastor in South Africa

Article 9: "Village Group Creates New Opportunities with UUSC Support in Impoverished Region of Burkina Faso." UUSC Program Fact Sheet, 1988.

Village group creates new opportunities with UUSC support in impoverished region of Burkina Faso

As a university student several years ago, André Eugène Ilboudo traveled home regularly to his rural village in the Saponé region of Burkina Faso, formerly called Upper Volta. As in the rest of this impoverished West African nation, the people of Saponé suffered from a host of debilitating conditions: hunger, drought, poor health care, illiteracy, few agricultural tools, and virtually no means of storing what little water was available.

Ilboudo saw how these conditions affected the thousands of residents in Saponé's 90 villages. The long droughts had severely curtailed food production in what had been one of the most heavily farmed regions of the country. Women had to walk several miles daily to collect water from a communal well. Health care was minimal, with only a few nurses and aides to care for thousands of people.

"With the necessary tools and materials, we can reduce the spectre of famine to a sad memory."

In Burkina Faso, 18 out of every 100 babies die before the age of one, and 34 percent die before they are four. The life expectancy of adults is 48. There is only one physician for every 48,500 people and the literacy rate is among the lowest in the world: nine percent.

Ilboudo began discussing with other workers how they might alleviate the hardships so that they could, as he put it, "transform (the villages) into a viable situation." The meetings drew more and more people, providing a forum to articulate needs and solve problems.

Today, eight years later, the group has evolved into a highly effective grassroots organization of village and regional farmers. They call themselves Association Vive le Paysan (Long Live the Peasant), or Wend-Na-Va Koada, in Moré, the language of the Mossi people. The group has dramatically improved food and water resources in the area, and initiated numerous community development projects. More than 1,000 active members work in 84 groups in 42 villages. Recently, Vive le Paysan received national media attention, and government officials invited its members to be advisors in developing a regional five-year plan.

The logo of Vive le Paysan depicts a farmer and the group's motto, in French and the local tribal language, "Millet and water for all!"

Group receives UUSC support

The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee began working with Vive le Paysan in 1985. With grants from the London-based rock concert relief group Band Aid, USA for Africa and the Food Industry Crusade Against Hunger, the Service Committee is currently supporting projects to:

- construct two reservoirs, which will store water for thousands of villagers and improve irrigation;
- manufacture 87 special carts that enable women to collect and transport water more easily;
- train youth in animal husbandry;
- improve the village fruit tree nursery;
- build a community center;
- refurbish a health complex in Saponé, and train 30 village health workers, 10 community development workers and 25 medical professionals to provide basic health care in two rural regions;
- improve literacy for adults and youth;
- conduct study tours for villagers from neighboring areas to learn new techniques for their own community development; and
- develop a program for Vive le Paysan to become more self-sufficient.

"A model grassroots organization"

The underlying goal of the group, Ilboudo said, is "to make us aware and confident of our own strengths. Peasants must be able to master the environment in order to be responsible for our own well-being. To do that, our activities are organized into five main areas: agriculture, health, education, organizing and training, and improving the position of women in development." With the necessary tools and materials, he said, "we can reduce the spectre of famine to a sad memory. We already have the necessary energy and determination."

Lou Witherite, UUSC's acting director of international programs, visited the group in Burkina Faso in December, 1987. "Vive le Paysan has emerged as a major community force, a dynamic organization that has nearly quadrupled in size in the past year," she said. "It's become a model grassroots organization. Recently, they began providing women with credit to start small working cooperatives. The women have since opened a restaurant and begun manufacturing soap. With these kinds of activities and local initiatives, Vive le Paysan is making its goal of self-sufficiency a reality."

The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee is an independent membership organizaton founded in 1939, rooted in and inspired by liberal religious principles which affirm the supreme worth and dignity of every person, the interdependence of all people and each individual's right to peace, justice and freedom.

Through its staff and nationwide network of volunteers, the Service Committee works for basic social change in the United States, and for health, women's rights, economic development and human rights in Africa, the Caribbean, Central America and India.

Session 4: Issue Connections

Goal: To establish greater awareness among participants of the linkages between the U.S. and Africa on an issue of concern to the group.

Session Length: Approximately 2 hours, 15 minutes.

This session encourages participants to look at current issues critical to local communities in the United States and to the African context (i.e., children and youth, environment, food and hunger, and health). Facts on each issue in the U.S. and in Africa are juxtaposed to provide a context for global understanding. The group's task is to clarify essential local-Africa linkages on the issue. Learning about these linkages, in turn, will indicate areas for local action. This knowledge will be useful for group decision-making in *Session 6: Where do we go from here?*

For example, in learning about the environment, the group learns that hazardous waste dumping by U.S. companies, such as the New Jersey-based Waste Export Management Company, in certain African nations is a growing problem. If participants discover that the Waste Export Management Company has a local affiliate in their area, this is a point of potential leverage for community action to help negotiate for a healthier planet through safe disposal of hazardous waste.

Activities:

- Participants learn about the local angle of the issue of their choice.
- They share what they learned from the readings about the issue in the African context.
- Through an inquiry process, they may find that the same dynamics on the issue link their community here in the United States with those in Africa.
- They will reach conclusions about how the marginalization of certain population groups in U.S. communities concerning this issue is reflected in our approach to Africa on a global level.
- They will outline the kinds of action responses to the issues emerging from their analysis.
- They announce up-coming Africa-related events; share findings on the local Africa resource network.
- They set the agenda, and designate responsibilities for Session 5.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- African foods brought by participants
- easel and newsprint to mark participants' questions, responsibilities
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- video cassette player

Session Outline:

This format should be adapted to the issue of the group's choice.

1. **Presentation on the local angle of the issue (40 minutes)**
   - Facts about the U.S. context and ideas for local inquiry for the selected issue are provided in the introduction to the readings below as a starting point.
   - A group participant or a speaker from the local area who is knowledgeable about the issue is invited to provide a presentation on the local angle (facts and figures) of the issue. Use of any relevant articles or handouts is greatly encouraged.
   - Particularly relevant is information on how the issue affects different population groups on the local level, and what role is played by racism and discrimination against so-called "minority" cultures.
   - This presentation (approx. 15 minutes long) will be followed by a question and answer period for participants (15 minutes).
   - Using a flipchart, participants will then list the priority areas of local concern on the issue (10 minutes). (After completion of this activity may be the ideal moment to take a short break for refreshments).

2. **Presentations on the readings (30 minutes)**

   After consulting the facts on Africa contained in the introduction to the readings and briefing each other on the articles (if all participants have not already read them), participants will prepare a list (also on flipchart paper) of what they feel are priority areas of concern for Africa on the issue that they selected.

3. **Discussion on possible linkages between Africa and the local context of the issue and appropriate action responses (30 minutes):**

   Comparing the lists of local vs. Africa areas of concern, participants clarify the linkages that emerge. For example, if the issue under scrutiny is health care, and a priority area is prenatal programs, participants compare the needs in prenatal care in their local area to what they've learned about prenatal programs in Africa. What conclusions can you make? What kind of action response would the group want to advocate (e.g., become involved in the baby formula boycott)? Is the marginalization of certain population groups in U.S. communities reflected in our approach to Africa on a global level?

4. **Updates on the local African resource network (10 minutes):**

   As with every session, the facilitator asks participants to announce:

   - progress on the list of African resources in the area (people; the local network of African arts; area organizations and coalitions; and relevant libraries and resource centers)
   - recent articles and media coverage on Africa (clippings should be shared on a bulletin board)
   - up-coming Africa-related events (speakers, movies, exhibits, films, festivals, etc.)

5. **Setting the agenda for Session 5: The Military Connection (10 minutes):**

   Before leaving, all participants should know what their responsibilities are for the next session. They should:

   - set a time, place and duration for Session 5
   - designate (a) facilitator(s) if necessary
   - designate participant responsible for researching the impact of military spending in the local area (this could mean preparing a short presentation or inviting a local authority on the issue to speak to the group)
   - assign reading of the overview of the articles in Session 5 to all participants
   - designate participants responsible for reporting on certain readings, if all participants aren't able to read all the articles for the issue selected for Session 5
   - nominate person(s) who will bring African-style refreshments to the next meeting

Session 4/Issue: Children and Youth

Facts about Children in the United States:

The World Council of Churches stated that "the basic test of economic justice is what happens to the most vulnerable groups in society." Children are typically among the most vulnerable in any society. The U.S. is the only industrialized nation in which children make up the largest segment of the poor. Other facts that tell of the plight of the nation's children are:

- The National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality says the lack of decent prenatal care causes some 40,000 low-birthweight babies in the U.S. to die before their first birthday.
- Overall infant mortality rate is 11 per 1000 live births; it is twice as high for blacks as for whites. Black mothers are also twice as likely to give birth to a low-birthweight baby. (Zero Population Growth).
- Women who haven't graduated from high school have a fertility rate almost 30 points higher than women with four or more years of college. (Zero Population Growth).
- According to Census Bureau figures, around 5 million or almost 25 percent of U.S. children under age 6 are poor; 12.8 million or 20.4 percent of children under 18 were poor in 1987.
- One in every two black children under age 6 is poor.
- A black baby born in Indianapolis, Detroit, or Washington, DC is more likely to die in the first year of life than a baby born in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Chile, Panama, Romania, or the Soviet Union. (Children's Defense Fund)
- Poor children often live in single-parent families; one out of two marriages today end in divorce; and one out of two female headed families live below the federal poverty line.
- Before World War II, government expenditures on education were two to three times as high as those for military defense. Now 45 percent more money is allocated to the military than to the education of the nation's children (Ruth Leger Sivard).
- Children, especially black urban youth, increasingly grow up in an environment that provides them with incentives to turn to crime, drug abuse, and violence.
- Access by blacks to higher education through federal grants and loans has steadily diminished.
- In any given day, 2,407 children are born out of wedlock, 2,989 see their parents divorced, 1,849 are abused, 3,288 run away from home, 1,629 are in adult jails, 9 die from guns, 17 die from poverty. (Children's Defense Fund)
- In any given day, 2,740 U.S. teenagers get pregnant, 1,105 have abortions, 369 miscarry, 1,293 give birth, 6 commit suicide, 1,385 drop out of high school. (Children's Defense Fund)
- The United States and South Africa are the only major industrialized nations that do not guarantee some form of job-protected maternity leave. (Children's Defense Fund)
- The U.S. ranks eighteenth among 142 nations in infant mortality (twenty-eighth if only black babies are counted), and twentieth in school-age population per teacher. It ranks first in terms of military expenditures, military aid to foreign countries, nuclear reactors, and nuclear tests. (Ruth Leger Sivard)

Facts About Children in Africa:

- The overall infant mortality rate in Africa is 118 per 1,000 live births; only one in four children survive past age 5. An overwhelming proportion of children grow up in chronic malnutrition conditions, weakening resistance against diarrhea, parasites, malaria, and other diseases.
- According to a recent UNICEF report, children clearly pay the highest price for the debt crises in various African nations. In order to meet their debt payments to foreign lenders, government have had to slash their education and health budgets — areas which most affect the livelihood of children.
- Despite governments' call for universal education, the primary education systems on the African continent are still largely inadequate: there is an average of 79 school-aged children per teacher; only 43 percent of the school age population is in school; less than half of the population is literate.
- Yet, education should be a priority for children all over Africa: research has shown that there is a strong negative relationship between how much education a woman receives and the number of children she bears during her lifetime. Men and women with more education tend to live longer healthier lives.
- The overwhelming proportion of Africa's refugees are children and women.
- In most African households, children represent an important labor resource: often parents don't allow their children (especially their daughters) to go to school because they need them to help around the house.
- An estimated 10,000 black South African children have been detained without trial. Many have suffered physical torture and psychiatric abuse (Defense for Children — USA).

Ideas for Local Inquiry:

- In South Africa, an estimated 70 percent of African school-age children are underweight, and up to 50,000 children may die of malnutrition each year (Defense for Children — USA).
- What children suffer from hunger and poverty in your area (ethnic groups, women, children)?
- Who provides help for these children (organizations, government offices, churches)?
- What provisions for food assistance for children exist? Are the current programs efficient?
- What kinds of prenatal and infant care services exist?
- What protection is there for children suffering from parental abuse or neglect?
- What programs are there for day care for single and working parents? Do they meet the need?
- What is the teen pregnancy rate? What teen sex education programs exist?
- What drug abuse and crime rates exist among youth in your area? Are there teen centers or community education programs that deal with youth drug abuse and crime?
- Are there examples of community, family, and peer institutions or traditions in Africa, that could provide us with alternative models for approaching the crisis in U.S. families?

- What multicultural and global education programs in the school system? Do such programs adequately portray Africa? How could they be improved?
- What teachers and school administrators are particularly receptive to teaching about Africa?
- Are there any exchange programs that include Africa?

Through this inquiry, what conclusions can you make:

1) concerning specific problem areas relating to children at risk in your community?

2) concerning connections with Africa on children's welfare?

3) What kind of action in response to this issue would you recommend and participate in?

Recommended Videos:

A Week of Sweet Water

This is one family's drama in Burkina Faso, West Africa. When drought comes, hard choices need to be made. By renewing the community tradition of working together, they can restore the potential of the land. The video also refers to the local tradition of female circumcision. (40 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Chain of Tears

This is a documentary filmed on location in the war-ravaged Front Line States of Mozambique and Angola as well as in South Africa's black townships, and provides a powerful and painful account of the plight of the children in southern Africa. (52 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Children of Apartheid

This disturbing Walter Cronkite documentary introduces us to South Africa's youth under the current State of Emergency. The film's portraits of the daughters of former South Africa President P.W. Botha and imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela dramatically highlights the differences between the two South Africas. (49 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Overview of the Readings for Session 4: Children and Youth

What does it mean to grow up in Africa today? While the pastoral scenes of children coming of age in picturesque rural villages still exist throughout Africa, an ever-increasing number of children now grow up in the urban centers. Major cities (those with populations above one million include: Abidjan, Algiers, Cairo, Cape Town, Dakar, Khartoum, Kinshasa, Lagos, Nairobi, Tripoli) have mushroomed up all over Africa during the past few decades. European colonizers, missionaries, foreign educational systems, and modern technology have left their mark on Africa's youth. This collection of articles, poems, and book excerpts brings together many of the issues facing the Africa's young people.

In general, only the infant travelling on the back of its mother or sister enjoys a free ride. By age four or five, that infant will have its own share of the work around the house. As the West African proverb says, "Each extra mouth comes attached to two extra hands." Rural African women spend their days planting, hoeing, and harvesting; bearing children, cooking meals, fetching water, and carrying firewood. An African man's responsibilities include providing for his wife (or wives) and children, and caring for his extended family. School fees for his nephew, shelter for his widowed sister-in-law, a job for his cousin; many requests such as these will come his way.

The effect of colonization on Africa has challenged many such indigenous practices. For example, the conflict between the traditional way of life and the new "white man's religion," Christianity, created a poignant drama in numerous African families. Article 1 takes the reader to colonial Cameroon where a confrontation between a father and his adolescent son will be familiar to any parent. The age-old intergenerational struggle is also symbolic of the forces bearing down on young Africans.

These same forces of imposing an external value system on African communities is pushed to an extreme in South Africa with apartheid rule. What does it mean to be black and growing up in a township in that country? Article 2 provides us with impressions from a young black boy's point of view about growing up in a place where he, his family, his community, and his race are systematically excluded from access to a lifestyle made available only to the white South African minority living in adjacent white settlements.

The imposition of a European value-based educational system and work ethic has had a far-reaching impact on Africa. These schools have trained the vast majority of African government leaders, administrators, and civil servants of today, and continues to train those of the future. Yet, inevitably, to go to school and subsequently to the university means breaking many of the ties to family, community, and village.

Article 3 presents the example of the life of Kwasi Oduro, a young lecturer at the University of Ghana, and the first in his family to receive a university degree and government job in the capital city Accra. His life is juxtaposed to that of his family in their native village of Dawu. The author weaves the story of Oduro, his ties to his family (often based on guilt and resentment) and the lure of modernization into an economic context. Those who live in the city, especially if they're employed by the government, are considered wealthy, and are expected to share their resources with the less fortunate family members.

Life in the big city may lure many in search of a means to survive, but, especially for children, there are many dangers. Article 4 describes the Sudanese street children in Khartoum known as "shamasa" — children without protection from the sun. The author explains how these youngsters came to live on the streets of Khartoum and includes an interview with Muhammad, who has worked on the streets for three years. The head of the department of social welfare in Khartoum states that these boys are forced to lead a homeless existence for economic reasons. However, he does not emphasize the role played by the Sudanese civil war which has displaced thousands of families.

Schooling takes on many different forms in African society. Traditional apprenticeships, European school systems set up by the colonizers, literacy and numeracy training programs, and religious schools are some examples. Islamic education, too, heavily influences the lives of many children. In Senegal, boys and girls start their day shortly after dawn, sitting under large shade trees writing Arabic script on wooden boards and reciting passages from the Qu'ran. They are students of the Koranic school where a "Malam" (Arabic for teacher or scholar) teaches them basic Arabic and Islamic belief. Article 5 provides an inside look at the Koranic school system as well as a global picture of how Koranic schools perpetuate Islamic tradition.

In Africa, poetry, whether oral or written, is regarded as a means of transferring values from one generation to the next. A poem by a Kenyan writer (article 6) conveys a sense of loss over a disappearing code of cultural values representative of the African "bush". The poet questions the worth of teaching young people the value of a "civilization" where "...men/With crippled legs, lifeless eyes/.../Wander about the streets."

It is well known that women in Africa hold up more than their share of the sky. The remaining articles focus on what it means to grow up for a young girl in Africa today. For some girls, becoming a woman means, as with boys when they become men, undergoing the ritual of circumcision with her age cohort. Many get married at an early age. But with education and exposure to modernized values, conflicts arise that are redefining traditional roles played by women in marriage, in the family, in work. This is particularly true in urban areas. Article 7 tells of the struggles that confront most African girls as they come of age, and of the structural solutions that they would like a chance to try to improve their lot.

An example of women whose role has changed dramatically during the past two decades is described in article 8, which focuses on Eritrean women who discarded the veil and are "enjoying liberation" as soldiers and revolutionaries fighting for their country. A collection of personal accounts from women who have joined the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) informs us that women are willing to fight for basic human necessities, such as education and health care.

The urban life also beckons girls, especially during periods of drought and hardship in the rural areas. They may be able to stay with extended family members, but more often poverty, hunger, prostitution, and unwanted pregnancies await them. A shelter and basic skills training program for such young women has been established in Dakar by the Federation of Senegalese Women's Associations (article 9) with support from UUSC.

Growing up has its share of complexities and difficulties for every child. African families, with traditions and dynamics that vary enormously from region to region, are going through a time of transition. How will the tensions between traditional and modern lifestyles be played out? How will this affect relations between men and women, mothers and children? Because the African family has a built-in day care system, social security plan, and unemployment scheme, it will undoubtedly remain a strong, if somewhat changed, entity. Tradition and strongly upheld philosophical beliefs create an environment where the obligations to the family will remain dominant over the needs of the individual even in these times of change. Perhaps in terms of family, more than in any other aspect of this guide, we, in the industrialized nations, have a great deal to learn from our African sisters and brothers.

Article 1: from *Houseboy* by Ferdinand Oyono

AUGUST

Father Gilbert says I can read and write fluently. Now I can keep a diary like he does. Keeping a diary is a white man's custom and what pleasure there is in it I do not know. But I shall try it out.

While my master and benefactor was hearing confessions, I had a look into his diary. Ah, it is a grain-store for memories. These white men can preserve everything. In Father Gilbert's diary I found the kick he gave me when he caught me mimicking him in the sacristy. I felt my bottom burning all over again. It is strange, I thought I had forgotten all about it. . . .

* * *

My name is Toundi Ondoua. I am the son of Toundi and of Zama. When the Father baptized me he gave me the name of Joseph. I am Maka by my mother and Ndjem by my father. My ancestors were cannibals. Since the white men came we have learnt other men must not be looked upon as animals.

They say in the village that I was the cause of my father's death because I ran away to a white priest on the day before initiation when I should have met the famous serpent who watches over all the men of my race. Father Gilbert believes it was the Holy Spirit that led me to him. In fact I just wanted to get close to the white man with hair like the beard on a maize cob who dressed in woman's clothes and gave little black boys sugar lumps. I was in a gang of heathen boys who followed the missionary about as he went from hut to hut trying to make converts to the new religion. He knew a few words of Ndjem but his pronunciation was so bad that the way he said them, they all had obscene meanings. This amused everybody and his success was assured. He threw the little lumps of sugar to us like throwing corn to chickens. What a battle to get hold of one of those little white lumps! They were worth all the scraped knees, swollen eyes and painful cuts. Sometimes these distributions of sugar turned into brawls between our parents. One day my mother got into a fight with the mother of my friend Tinati because he had twisted my arm to make me let go of two lumps of sugar which I had won at the cost of a bleeding nose. That battle nearly came to bloodshed. My father had to be restrained by the neighbours from splitting open the head of Tinati's father, while Tinati's father was threatening to put his assegai through my father's stomach. When they had both been calmed down, my father, armed with a cane, invited me to follow him behind the house.

'You, Toundi, are the cause of this whole business. Your greediness will be the ruin of us. Anyone would think you don't have enough to eat at home. So on the day before your initiation you have to cross a stream to go begging lumps of sugar from some white man-woman who is a complete stranger to you.'

My father however was not a stranger and I was well acquainted with what he could do with a stick. Whenever he went for either my mother or me, it always took us a week to recover. I was a good way from his stick. He swished it in the air and came towards me. I edged backwards.

'Are you going to stop? I've not got legs to go chasing you. You know if I don't get you now I will wait for you for a hundred years to give you your punishment. Now come here and get it over with.'

'I haven't done anything to be beaten for, father,' I protested.

'Aaaaaaaaaaakiaaaaay!' he roared. 'You dare to say you haven't done anything? If you weren't such a glutton, if you hadn't the blood of the gluttons that flows through your mother's veins you wouldn't have been in Fia to fight like the little rat you are over the bits of sugar that cursed white man gives you. You wouldn't have got your arm twisted, your mother wouldn't have had a fight and I wouldn't have wanted to split open Tinati's old father's head. . . . I warn you, you had better stop. If you go one more step backwards, that will be an insult to me. I will take it as a sign that you are capable of taking your mother to bed.'

I stopped. He flung himself on me and the cane swished down on to my bare shoulders. I twisted like a worm in the sun.

'Turn round and put up your arms. I don't want to knock your eye out.'

'Let me off, father,' I begged, 'I won't do it again.'

'You always say that when I start to give you a thrashing. But today I'm going to go on thrashing and thrashing until I'm not angry any more.'

I couldn't cry out because that might have attracted the neighbours. My friends would have thought me a girl. I would have lost my place in the group of 'boys-who-are-soon-to-be-men'. My father gave me another blow that I dodged neatly.

'If you dodge again it means you are capable of taking my mother, your grandmother, to bed.'

My father always used this blackmail to stop me from getting away and to make me submit to his blows.

'I have not insulted you and I am not capable of taking my mother to bed or yours and I won't be beaten any more, so there.'

'How dare yc speak to me like that! A drop of my own liquid speaking to me like that! Unless you stand still at once, I shall curse you.'

My father was choking. I had never seen him so furious. I went on backing away from him. He came on after me, down behind the huts, for a good hundred yards.

'Very well then,' he said. 'We'll see where you spend the night. I will tell your mother you have insulted us both. Your way back into the house will pass through my anus.'

Article 1: (cont'd.)

With that he turned his back. I did not know where I could go. I had an uncle I did not like because of his scabies. His wife smelt of bad fish and so did he. I hated going into their house. It was growing dark. You could begin to see the flashing light of the fireflies. The thud of mortars announced the preparation of the evening meal. I went back softly behind our house and peered through the cracks in the mud wall. My father had his back to me. My unpleasant uncle was facing him. They were eating. . . . The aroma of porcupine made my mouth water. It had been caught in one of my father's traps and we had found it half eaten by ants two days later. My mother was famous in the village for her cooking of porcupine.

'The very first of the season,' said my uncle with his mouth full.

My father did not speak but pointed with his finger above his head to where the skulls of the animals he had taken in his traps were hung up in a row.

'You can eat it all up,' said my mother, 'I've kept some for Toundi in the pot.'

My father leapt up, stammering with rage. I saw there would be a storm.

'Bring Toundi's share here,' he shouted. 'He's not to have any of this porcupine. I will teach him to disobey me.'

'But he hasn't had anything since this morning. What will he eat when he gets in?'

'Nothing at all,' said my father.

'If you want to make him obedient,' added my uncle, 'take away his food . . . this porcupine is really delicious.'

My mother got up and fetched the pot. I saw my father's hand and my uncle's hand go in. Then I heard my mother crying. For the first time in my life I thought of killing my father.

I went back to Fia . . . and after hesitating for a long while I knocked at the white priest's door. I found him in the middle of his dinner. He was very surprised. I tried to explain through signs that I wanted to go away with him. He laughed with all his teeth so his mouth looked like a crescent moon. I stood shyly by the door. He made signs that I should come closer and he offered me what was left of his meal. I found it strange and delicious. We continued a conversation by signs. I knew I had been accepted.

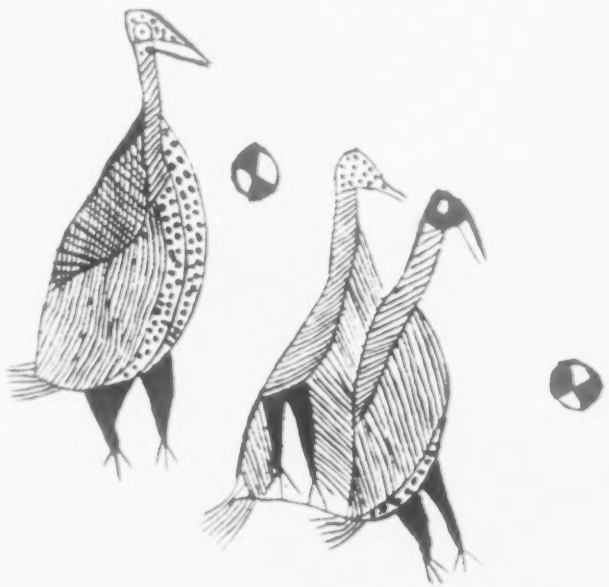
That is how I became Father Gilbert's boy.

My father heard the news next day. I was afraid of how angry he would be . . . I explained to the priest, still using signs. He was amused. He gave me a friendly pat on the shoulder. I felt protected.

In the afternoon my father came. All he said to me was that I was still his son, the drop of his liquid and that he bore me no grudge. If I came home, everything would be forgotten. I knew just how much trust I could put in a speech like this made in front of the white man. I put my tongue out at him. The look came into his eye that always came when he was going to 'teach me how to behave'. But I was not afraid while Father Gilbert was there. Father Gilbert's eyes seemed to cast a spell over my father. He lowered his head and went out crestfallen.

My mother came to see me that night. She was crying. We cried together. She told me I had done well to leave my father's house and that my father did not love me as a father ought to love his son. She said that she gave me her blessing and that if ever I fell ill I had only to bathe in a stream and I would be cured.

Father Gilbert gave me a pair of khaki shorts and a red jersey. All the boys in Fia were so impressed by these that they came to ask Father Gilbert to take them on as well.



Article 2: "Living Under Apartheid" (Reprinted form Children's Express). *Your World: An International Paper for Young People.*

Living Under Apartheid

by Michael Ford, 11; Samantha Mandor, 12; and Kimberly Wilson, 12.
Reprinted from *CHILDREN'S EXPRESS*

How would you like to be called a "nigger"? How would you like to grow up segregated from everybody else, just because your skin is a different color? There are thousands of children growing up and living like that under apartheid in South Africa.

We interviewed Mark Mathabane who wrote a book about apartheid called *Kaffir Boy*. He wanted to tell the world about South African apartheid, from a kid's point of view. It's basically about him, as a kid growing up.

When we met with Mathabane he told us more of his story. "In South Africa I was born in a 15x15 foot shack," he said. "I slept on a piece of cardboard under the kitchen table with my siblings, because we had no bed. During the bitter winter months, my mother would reinforce our one thin blanket with pieces of newspaper because it was so cold. We often had no food, so we had to beg and beg for scraps of food at the garbage dump in order to stay alive."

Mark said that he was beaten a lot and he had to hide a lot from the police. The police did awful things to his parents; they humiliated them, hurt them, imprisoned them. Mark saw what they did. He was really confused. He felt that the police were supposed to protect you, not hurt you.

Every now and then in the middle of the night, the police would come and make a raid. If Mark wouldn't answer the door, they'd bust it open and beat him. They'd arrest his father for being unemployed, but it was hard for his father to get a job. They would just turn down blacks for jobs because they were black or poor.

"We took care of each other though" Mark Mathabane said. "We loved each other very much. And I knew I would always protect my sisters and brothers, because I knew that though they could take everything away from us, the one thing they could not take away was our love for each other."

Schooling was very important to Mark's mother, because she didn't go to school. She said, "If I have to give up everything, you're going to school."

Mark thought that was really great—noble of her. He wanted to go because it was so important to his mother. She slaved for him to go to school. It took months and months for him to register for school. He and his mother left every morning in the cold winter to go to the police station. They walked barefoot on broken bottles. At the police station they kept on asking for his birth certificate. They needed it to enroll him in school. A white nun finally got them the birth certificate. And his mother held it like it was a gold nugget!

"I didn't like school because black school was just so horrible. They whipped you every day for not having books or for missing lessons. I would come back unable to sit because I'd been whipped. And I would say, 'What's the use?' Fortunately I stayed there, and I learned that if I could become more educated, I could fight more effectively for my rights.

Mark's alternatives to going to school would have been hanging out with bad boys and getting into trouble. Some of the black South African kids who didn't go to school got into crime and prostitution. They had to make money for their families because they were poor.

"I would go to the golf course when I was little," he said, " or I would sell newspapers or clean cars, but I loved playing sports. So we would play soccer and tennis. And that made me stay out of trouble.

We wondered about whether or not Mark Mathabane ever went to white neighborhoods. He told us about the first time he visited one.

"I thought I had arrived in outer space. Everything was just so different. The homes were big. There were paved streets. Everybody was happy. And I said, 'My God! This is strange,' because I had expected to find people killing each other. In all the movies we saw, white people were always killing each other and the poor Indians. So I thought I would find people going around on horses and shooting each other.

"Instead I found some of the prettiest places. I began to ask myself, why are we living in such horrible places, and they are living in such paradises? It was that curiosity that led me to revolt against the apartheid system."

We then asked him about Mrs. Smith, the white woman his grandmother worked for. "She liked me," he told us, "and she began giving me a book here and there, like *Treasure Island*. I think the books that she gave me made me start to dream and to think that maybe there was a world out there that was very different—much better than the world in the ghetto. And I think that it made me not lose hope. She was also the woman that gave me my first tennis racket."

Mark struggled and got to the United States by means of a tennis scholarship. "I went to South Carolina to a college called Limestone, and first lived there." Now Mark Mathabane lives in North Carolina, where he's a writer and lectures about South Africa.

"My definition of apartheid," he told us, "is the denial of freedom and equal opportunity to people. I find this very terrible, because we all have a right to freedom. We all have to give each other a chance because we are all talented, and we can all do something for which we will be proud, if only we have the opportunity.

Mark Mathabane wants American kids to know about apartheid and the South Africans. "I hope that the young people in America become involved in the struggle that the young people in South Africa are fighting. You should try to write to them, to send them books, to tell them that you do care. Because someday you will be the leaders of America—and these children will be the leaders of South Africa.

Article 3: "Torn by Tradition and Modernity." by Blaine Harden, *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, Dec. 5-11, 1988.

Torn by Tradition and Modernity

In Africa, family ties are binding too tightly

by Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

Dawu, Ghana — Kwasi Oduro, the only member of his family with a university degree and a government job in the capital, is needed here at home.

In this upcountry village of mud houses and bad water, his kin want a piece of what they imagine to be Oduro's prosperity.

His father needs money to pay a hospital so a "computer can test my blood to know the particular place where the sick is." His mother needs money to install wiring that would, for the first time, bring electricity to her house. His sister, unhappily married to a polygamous village subchief, needs money for school fees for her five children. His aunt, who is believed to have magical powers and has professed in public to being a witch, needs money for a dentist.

The list of needs, bubbling up from the ranks of distant cousins, goes on and on. At times, Oduro, 38, a lecturer in sociology at the University of Ghana, says he despises his extended family.

His $83-a-month university salary is not enough to feed, clothe, and educate his own five children, who live with him and his wife in the capital, Accra. The demands of the folks back home, Oduro says, fill him with "dread."

"They are vultures," he says. "I say they are pickpockets. They are very cunning. They want money from you and they know how to get it. They will tell you lies calculated to soften your heart. Your grandmother talks to you about some chest trouble and you give her money and the next thing you know she is drinking gin."

At other times, his cynicism gives way to guilt. Oduro's family, especially his mother, sacrificed to put him through school. He owes them. There is a saying in his tribe, the Ashanti: "If your elders take care of you while you are cutting your teeth, you must in turn take care of them while they are losing theirs."

"My guilt is an expression of my failure to measure up to their expectations," he says. "Sometimes you crawl back home with certain gestures. The crawling back can only happen to the guilty."

After more than a year's absence, Oduro went home in October. It was a bittersweet, expensive and emotionally draining homecoming of a sort that is replayed millions of times every weekend across this continent as the African extended family recalls its own.

The extended family system hooks into the hearts and pocketbooks of almost every African man and woman. Unlike tribal loyalty, which divides Africa along ethnic lines while dictating patterns of government patronage and sometimes boiling over into civil war, family loyalty operates on a smaller, more intimate stage — a stage populated exclusively by blood relatives.

With its labyrinthine web of rights and duties, the extended family is a day care, social security and welfare system. It babysits the children of working parents and keeps the elderly from feeling useless. It feeds the unemployed and gives refuge to the disabled and mentally ill.

It pays for all this by redistributing resources between haves and have-nots. Money, medicines and manufactured goods filter out to the village. Country cousins come knocking on doors in the city in search of familial favors. This system of commerce and welfare does not follow free-market precepts, Marxist dogma or the rule of law. It is governed by ties of blood, of tradition, of guilt.

As independent Africa stumbles through three decades of hard times — with corrupt leaders bleeding national economies, commodity prices skidding downward on world markets and the average African growing poorer each year — the extended family functions as a kind of homemade glue, holding together the world's most impoverished and politically brittle continent.

"There is really no alternative in Africa to the extended family," says Akilagpa Sawyyer, vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana and a well-known social commentator in this country. "Its functioning is a major way to distinguish African society from that of Europe or the United States. And it is not going to go away. Every single person you meet in Africa who has got anything is sharing it with his kin."

Most African governments, despite socialist rhetoric and well-intentioned laws, cannot afford social security or unemployment benefits. Here in Ghana, for example, the government has an elaborate unemployment benefit program. But the program exists only on paper. Since it was introduced in 1972, government figures show that a total of three claimants have been paid.

"Compared to what African governments can do, the family is a marvelous welfare system," says Bernard Travallion, a British adviser to Ghana's government for development planning. "To dismantle it without an alternative would be a disaster."

Yet, as the journey home of Kwasi Oduro suggests, the extended family in Ghana, and across Africa, is under immense stress. Like a bridge that has borne too much high speed traffic for too many years, its foundations are cracking. Decades of western education and urban migration have lured family members into different worlds. The rural old and the urban young are separated by hundreds of miles of bad roads and centuries of development.

At the University of Ghana in Accra, where Kwasi Oduro lives on campus in a house provided by the university, there is a nuclear physics research laboratory. Here in Dawu, 100 miles upcountry, fetishes hang in each house to ward off evil.

When Oduro goes home he does not bring along his city-bred children; the village water gives them diarrhea, and village cousins steal their food. Nor does he, a nondrinking born-again Christian, bring home the traditional bottle of schnapps that his uncles pour on the ground as a libation to the ancestors.

Yet, he constantly worries about what his kin back home are saying about him.

Eleven of his kin are camped out in his three-bedroom house in Accra, not counting his wife and five children. The number has gone as high as 18. They are job-seekers and refugees from this village. Most are described by Oduro as "cousins of a sort." They pay no rent; they often eat for free.

"I suppose I should be thorough and dislodge all of these traditional obligations and call them humbug. If I decide for my urban family, I would be saved a lot of headache," says Oduro.

"But I cannot turn out anybody if there is space to sleep. You don't know what they will go to the village and say. That sort of thing counts a lot. I am not so worried about this talk of witchcraft. That is not what worries me at all. What worries me is my own conscience."

Oduro is a compact, well-muscled man, with a rounded face, a touch of gray in his hair, and a booming voice toughened by long hours of monologue in large lecture halls.

As a student at the University of Ghana, he was an activist who led strikes that three times closed down the school. One of the strikes, in the late 1970s, precipitated the fall of a military government in Ghana.

"He caused a lot of trouble, but he has calmed down," recalls vice-chancellor Sawyyer. He now describes Oduro as one of the university's most energetic and popular lecturers.

Oduro describes himself as riven among obligations to his own children in Accra, to teaching at the university and to his extended family here.

"In my situation, there are too many norms competing to guide my life," Oduro says. "The source of my trouble is that I have made a decision to combine all of them."

Though frayed by cultural stress and inimical to western concepts of efficiency, the extended family has proven itself adaptable to Africa's deepening poverty and political instability.

A remarkable demonstration of this adaptability occurred in Ghana five years ago when neighboring Nigeria, in a fit of xenophobia, ordered the expulsion of more than 1.3 million Ghanaian workers.

The mass deportation came at a time of severe drought and economic hardship in this country of 14 million people. (It was an invasion analogous to 20 million American expatriates returning in 14 days to the United States at the height of the Great Depression.)

Anticipating social upheaval and fearing starvation, western relief agencies drew up emergency plans to erect camps for returnees. Within two weeks, however, the deportees disappeared, absorbed back into their extended families like water into a sponge. What was potentially the greatest single disaster in Ghana's history was defused before donors could figure out what to do about it.

After six hours in a van on roads that deteriorated from good to bumpy to barbarous, Oduro is dropped off here in his home village late on a Friday afternoon.

Dawu has a population of about 1,500 people — when everyone's working-age children come home from the cities. Except at Christmas and Easter, they don't come home all that often. They drift back on the odd weekend to meet family obligations. Like tens of thousands of ancestral villages across rural Africa, Dawu is semi-abandoned and sleepy, with more than its share of the very old and the very young.

There is one unpaved street in the village and one shop, a kiosk that sells cigarettes, soap and bread. When Oduro arrives home, the kiosk appears to have been freshly painted. It bears a portrait of Michael Jackson and the slogan, "No Hurry in Life."

The surrounding houses are made of reddish mud with rusted tin roofs. Greenish trails of sewage leak from beneath each house into shallow ditches that crisscross the village. Between the houses, cocoa fruit (plucked from trees that surround Dawu) dries on woven mats in the sun.

Even in the late afternoon, it is very hot — the humid air heavy with the sweet fermenting aroma of cocoa and the biting odor of excrement.

Oduro has left his wife, Margaret, back in Accra with their children. Instead, he has brought home Stella Adgei, 27, who works with him as a researcher at the university. He and Stella have been seeing each other for a long time. Last year he met her parents for drinks, proposed marriage, and received their blessing. Although there has been no formal ceremony, Oduro has told a few of his university colleagues that Stella is his second wife.

He has not, however, mentioned his second marriage to his first wife. Margaret does not like Stella. The two have met only once, and it was not pleasant. Margaret charged into Oduro's office at the Department of Sociology and ripped Stella's dress.

When Oduro climbs the broken front steps and walks into his family's house, a structure he was born and raised in, his mother greets him with a curtsy and immediately turns away to fetch water. It is an Ashanti tradition that water must be offered to guests before inquiries are made. Tradition, too, demands that Oduro's satchel bag be carried immediately to the bedroom in which he was born and that his maternal uncles be sent for.

Going home to rural Africa means succumbing to, if not suffocating in, the traditions of one's elders. This is especially true among the Ashanti, Ghana's largest tribe. Before the British subdued their nation in the late 19th century, the Ashanti Empire was one of the most religiously intricate, commercially astute and militarily adventurous civilizations on the continent.

The Ashanti traded in gold, ivory and slaves. While subjugating neighboring tribes, they ruled themselves with a monarchy that had a strong component of participatory democracy. The symbol of Ashanti unity was the Golden Stool, which by legend descended from heaven only 25 miles from this village, at Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. No one, not even the Ashanti king, was allowed to sit on the gold-encrusted stool; it was the soul of the nation.

Although the modern world has brought changes, many traditions remain. The most important among these is the Ashanti concept of matrilineal descent, a complex practice common among the peoples of central and west Africa. Family property can be inherited only from the mother's side of the family. In the Ashanti tribe, it is much better to have a rich mother than a rich father. A father's wealth goes to his sisters' children, but a mother's wealth goes to her own children.

When Oduro entered his mother's house, he knew his father would not be there. He has never lived there. The only kin entitled to live in the house are the "products" of his grandmother's and his mother's wombs. Oduro's father lives down the road in his mother's house. Maternal uncles, who manage family property and family affairs, loom large in the life of every Ashanti. That is why, when Oduro came home, someone ran to the forest to fetch them.

While waiting for his uncles, Oduro drinks the welcome water his mother brought him. Stella, a city woman who grew up in Accra and who had never before come home with Oduro, rejects it, fearing gastroenteritis.

Article 4: "Sudanese Kids Flock to City Streets" by Tym Lenderking, *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 9, 1986, p. 12.

Sudanese kids flock to city streets

Rising numbers fuel fears they will pose a major social problem

By Tym Lenderking
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Khartoum, Sudan

The Sudanese call them *shamasa* — "children without protection from the sun." There are perhaps 5,000 of them living in poverty on the streets of Khartoum.

"We never used to have this problem of street children," sighs Ahmed Musa, a longtime resident of Khartoum, Sudan's capital. "But nowadays you find them all over town, wandering around with nothing to do. We are very worried that if something significant isn't done soon, we are going to have a major social problem on our hands."

Migration to urban centers is common in developing countries. In Sudan, however, this movement has been intensified by successive years of drought and famine in the countryside. While the larger towns are absorbing influxes of rural people, Khartoum has become a particular magnet for youths.

"Most of these kids don't come here because their families are rejecting or abusive; it's just poverty," says Marie de la Soudiere, a consultant for vagrant children at the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Khartoum. "They feel that the city has something to offer them."

Ms. de la Soudiere estimates that there has been a tenfold increase in the *shamasa* population in the last two years. Consequently, it is only recently that the problem has attracted enough attention to cause concern. In neighboring Ethiopia, the problem is even worse — an estimated 15,000 children roam the city streets there.

Traditionally, the extended family in Africa has served as a fallback in time of distress. A poor family might give a child to relatives to raise. The economic malaise and severe food shortages of the last two years, however, have undermined this option.

"Now," says de la Soudiere, "a child is just another mouth to feed."

Khartoum is feeling the consequences of these extra mouths. Throughout the city, in markets and public squares, outside public offices, along main thoroughfares, ragged and dusty youths — almost all of them boys — roam, beg, or loiter.

Their presence is not threatening, but there is increasing concern that the longer they remain here, without adult or personal direction, the more threatening — physically and socially — their presence will be.

The term *shamasa*, in its common usage in Khartoum, refers only to those children who have come from the surrounding provinces and have no family in the capital. There are countless others, including girls, who wander and beg, but who have homes to return to at night. The *shamasa*, completely alone, are seen as a separate and more serious problem.

JACEK HERMAN-IZYCKI

Sudanese boy: street is home

"We can't afford to let these boys live aimlessly here. Many of them are still strong and their personalities undamaged. The sooner we get them off the streets and back home, the better," says Osman Abdin, the head of the department of social welfare in the Khartoum regional government.

The assistance programs that have emerged thus far — all less than a year old — focus on two goals: family reunification and vocational training. There are few doubts that the former is the best solution and that for many kids, it will work. But at a time when funding for new projects is very low, the reunification process costs about $60 a child, according to a New York-based UNICEF spokesperson.

The process begins at Sabah, a group cofounded by an American couple and a Yugoslav resident of Khartoum. There, kids are fed, examined, and screened before being referred to Amal, a Sudanese agency that actually oversees the move. The whole program is financed by the Emergency Operations Unit of UNICEF. To date, 85 boys have been returned to their families.

For some boys, though, reunification is an impossibility. Southerners, who make up perhaps 30 percent of the *shamasa* population, cannot return to the south because of civil war there; others have either lost contact with their families or simply don't want to return.

Article 4 (cont'd.)

Just passing time

Muhammad Ali Hassan, a 15-year-old boy, has spent three years in Khartoum. He comes from a village in central Sudan. He comes regularly to Sabah, a group that helps street children, for a morning meal.

Why did you come to Khartoum?

The problem was that my parents wanted to leave the village and go to a better farming area, but they left me with my aunt. Most of the people in the village didn't have enough to eat, so a lot left and headed south or toward Khartoum. My aunt had her own family to look after, so I left for El Obeid, but I couldn't find anything there, so I rode on the roof of a train to Khartoum.

Did you come alone?

I knew of other boys going to Khartoum, but I didn't really go with them.

What did you expect to do when you arrived?

I thought I could work for two months, earn some money, then go back to my village. I did not intend to stay here. In fact, I did work for a while washing cars, and I earned 45 pounds [roughly $10], but it was stolen by other boys. Then I had nothing again, and I heard that my family was in Darfur [the westernmost province] but I didn't want to go looking for them since I had nothing to show for my time in Khartoum.

Did you try to find work again?

I didn't. I had a friend who worked in a restaurant, and he would bring me food, and then I just learned to take care of myself.

How did you feel when you first arrived here?

I felt good and bad. It was exciting to come, but I didn't really have a choice. There was nowhere else to go. Even my school closed down because there weren't enough teachers. I figured life would be better here.

And is it?

There are many problems here. If I could go back to my family, I would. I have no other clothes, and you always have to worry about protecting yourself. Sometimes it's the older boys, sometimes it's the police. You don't feel safe at night.

How do you spend your days?

I just walk around with my friends or alone. Sometimes we try to get into the cinema or go swimming in the river, but otherwise there is nothing much to do. A lot of kids sniff benzine to pass the time.

What do you want to do in the future?

The main thing is to go back to school. I stopped going to school before I left my village three years ago. I am attending the school at Sabah, and if I have a chance I would like to learn auto mechanics. I think I could be a mechanic back in El Obeid, but I need some help getting started. We have no way to do anything like that on our own here.

— T.L.

Article 5: from "New Days for Old Ways" by Daniel Wagner, *IDRC Reports*.

NEW DAYS FOR OLD WAYS

DANIEL A. WAGNER

Islamic education in a changing world

In 1981, Prof. Daniel A Wagner of the University of Pennsylvania (U.S.A.) and Prof. Abdulhamid Lotfi of Mohamed V University (Morocco) undertook a comparative study of traditional Islamic education in five countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Funded by the Ford Foundation, the U.S. Social Science Research Council, and IDRC, the study aimed to provide descriptive and analytical perspectives on Quranic schools. The following article is primarily extracted from two papers prepared by Dr. Wagner as a result of the study.*

Diourbel, Senegal. Shortly after dawn, *Serigne* Abdoulaye, the master teacher, arrives at the *jangu* — the traditional Islamic school. Boys and girls, some as young as three years old, soon begin to take their places in long tin-roofed rooms or in the outside courtyard. On their wooden slates are written 25 to 30 lines of Arabic script. Almost imperceptibly the room begins to hum as the 50 or more children, holding up their slates, start to chant the day's lessons. Class has begun.

These children are learning passages from the Quran, the holy book of the world's Muslims. While the youngest simply mimic the teacher, repeating phrases they do not yet understand, the older students with some knowledge of Arabic concentrate on more difficult passages (or *suras*).

A man in his mid-50s, *Serigne* Abdoulaye no longer teaches the younger children, but provides individual lessons for the small number of older adolescents who intend to follow in the footsteps of their master. Those who choose to become Quranic school teachers gain on-the-job experience by teaching the scores of younger children who are learning the basics of Arabic and the Quran. In recent years, however, fewer and fewer such apprentices have decided to become Quranic masters.

The scene in this Diourbel *jangu* is being repeated in much of the Third World. Senegal shares one key cultural element with about half the countries and half the population of the developing world — a faith in Islam. One of every five people in the world embraces Islam, and the Islamic tradition has maintained and regenerated itself across generations for over 14 centuries. Within this heritage, the Islamic

Article 5 (cont'd.)

religious school has been the accepted and most widespread means of social and cultural reproduction. These schools began with the founding of Islam in the 7th century and spread with Islamic conquests to Spain in the West, to Asia Minor in the East and, later, deep into Africa and to the eastern reaches of Indonesia.

The traditional Quranic school instructs children in elements of Islamic belief and custom, basic literacy in Arabic, and advanced Islamic studies. In Arabic, the word Quran implies "recitation" and recitation of the Quran is a central goal of practicing Muslims. In order to recite properly, Muslim children are taught to memorize as much of the Quran as possible, a memory challenge of considerable magnitude, requiring six to eight years of full-time study for complete mastery.

But in spite of a central focus on the study of Quranic texts, the schools have adapted to the cultural constraints of each society. To the casual observer these traditional schools may appear to have changed little over the centuries but, in reality, they are undergoing significant transformation.

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN THREE COUNTRIES

Indonesia is the largest and most populous Muslim country in the world. About 95 percent of Indonesia's population of 140 million are Muslims, and almost 20 million children attend the country's Islamic schools. Islamic education is provided both by the government and through private religious schools called *pesantrens*. These schools are descended in part from the earlier traditions of Hindu-Buddhist monastery schools and the head teachers (*kyais*) are often charismatic leaders and community organizers, as well as learned scholars.

The *pesantrens* are economically self-supporting institutions. Students work in the fields and occasionally engage in small commercial activities organized for communal needs. In this way, students support themselves through five to ten years of study and maintain close ties with the Islamic community in which they reside.

Religious subjects, which make up about half the curriculum, are taught using the Arabic script needed for all Quranic study. For Indonesian children, learning to read Arabic is a major and difficult task. Special small classes for young children are often organized for this purpose by volunteers. And while some children make better progress than others, it is clear that all children learn enough to feel part of the dual cultural galaxy of Islamic Indonesia and the Islamic Arabic-speaking world.

Modern teaching methods are making some inroads in Indonesia's Quranic schools, particularly in the cities. In one school next to a Jakarta mosque, for example, a visitor could overhear each of the teenaged students chanting his particular passage loudly, helping to produce a cacophony of sounds. The teacher had adapted foreign language learning techniques to Quranic study. Each student had headphones, a cassette recorder, and tapes of all the *suras* of the Quran. This year, confided the teacher, one of his students might win the national championship for rapid and accurate Quranic recitation.

Islam arrived in Senegal in the 11th century with the slow but continuous arrival of traders and occasional military incursions from North Africa. The process of Islamization took many centuries, but was undoubtedly spurred on by the arrival of European slave traders in the 16th century. Lasting more than 200 years, the slave trade disrupted the social and economic structure of the country. The main consequences were the rise of Islam as an indigenous anticolonial force and the ascendancy of several large Islamic brotherhoods, which had each developed around a holy religious figure and his descendants.

In the 19th century, the brotherhoods made a series of accommodations with the French colonial administration to produce the important groundnut crop for export. The crop necessitated a large, quickly mobilized, and relatively unskilled labour force for planting and harvesting. Only the brotherhoods were capable of providing the social organization and mobilization of such a force. Thus they were given support by the French and profited greatly from the groundnut trade.

The Quranic schools in Senegal became more or less the instruments of this new agricultural effort. The schools gathered young, able-bodied boys together for study, providing an easily mobilized and cheap source of labour. Students were paid very little because working for the brotherhood was considered a duty. The brotherhoods, represented by their own *serignes* in villages, used the schools as a way of gaining access to converts, land, and economic and social power.

The alliance between the brotherhoods, the colonial government, and agriculture has diminished since Senegal's independence, due to the death of various religious leaders, crop diversification, and increased urban migration. The traditional Quranic schools have also felt the changes. The Senegalese are finding that Islamic schooling must adapt or lose its students to the French-language public school system. *Serigne* Abdoulaye's school, for example, has almost no funds as fewer children accept the traditional mode of teaching. New schools and teachers have begun to replace the old.

At one such modernized school (referred to as an "Islamic institute"), in the island city of Saint Louis, rote learning and recitation are still considered reasonable ways for young children to begin Quranic study. After two or three years of memorizing, however, children are given comprehensive training in reading and writing Arabic. Community support for the institute is high. Besides modern classrooms, the school has a large meeting hall. That poor people choose to make an economic investment of this kind shows the strength of their conviction that Islam is central to their lives. It is also indicative of the increased sense of community felt by the Senegalese toward Middle Eastern Muslims.

Serigne Abdoulaye himself has decided to send his children to the modernized Islamic schools. It is a statement that captures the thinking of many parents and teachers. Within a single generation, many Muslims are re-evaluating their pedagogical and social past in order to reinforce their basic values for the future.

After Saudi Arabia, North Yemen is the country most closely associated with the founding of Islam. It has also remained closer to its traditions than any other Muslim country as, until the 1972 revolution, Yemen had been effectively cut off from the Western world for almost a millenium. Before the revolution, the only school system in the country was the traditional Quranic school. Boys would attend from age four to 10 or 12, or until they were needed for agricultural chores.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Article 5 (cont.d.)

Rote learning, recitation, and the rudiments of literacy were the rule. Only a few exceptional adolescents went on for further study to become Quranic scholars and teachers at the *medrasahs* (institutes for more advanced studies) in larger towns.

Because of Yemen's low literacy rates, the religious scholars were the controllers and arbiters of most local legal issues. Since the revolution, however, the government has made a concerted effort to increase public school enrollment. This has had two related effects on the separate Islamic school system. First, fewer adolescents have gone on to become Quranic school teachers, because attending modern public high schools offers them a brighter future. Second, with fewer Quranic teachers, and with an increasing school-aged population, the Islamic school authorities have been filling teaching positions with Egyptian school teachers trained in modern secular schools.

Most of the traditional schools now have younger, better trained teachers. Many have begun to use secular primers to learn Arabic and are expanding enrollment in the primary school years. Thus, the traditional school system has begun adapting to some of the pressures of modernization, and is providing a culturally and religiously valued alternative for Muslim families who do not wish to break with their religious traditions.

Quranic schools are thus continuing to play important educational, social and economic roles in Islamic societies in today's world. The part Quranic schools will play in the current Islamic awakening is uncertain, but the fact remains that millions of children attend these schools for all or part of their formal education. The Islamic school is one of the most culturally embedded and least understood institutions that touches the lives of the rural poor of the Third World. Its role in the development process is only just beginnning to be known. □

*Wagner, D.A. "Indigenous education and literacy in the Third World", in D.A. Wagner (ed.) Child Development and International Development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass (in press), and "Islamic education: Traditional pedagogy and contemporary change" in T. Husen & T.N. Postlethwaite (eds.) International Encyclopedia of Education: Research and Studies. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983.

THE FUTURE OF TRADITIONS

For many Third World governments, budgets for education are at the top of the list in terms of cost. It should not be surprising, therefore, that they are beginning to reassess the utility and productivity of educational programs.

The achievement of literacy is perhaps the most agreed upon goal of all contemporary educational systems. Interestingly, for a great number of children in the Third World, literacy skills are acquired only through indigenous schools, which have generally been ignored by development planners.

Contemporary Islamic schools are an important example of indigenous education. Like other forms of indigenous schooling, these schools continue to attract large numbers of children. Changes in recent years have also brought them into direct competition with modern secular school systems, forcing adaptations in both systems.

Many researchers agree that national literacy programs in a number of countries have achieved only limited success in recent decades and that a closer relationship between these programs and culturally indigenous forms of schooling could be beneficial. More information is needed about these schools, however, to avoid wasting financial resources while taking advantage of cultural resources. Their involvement in education policies and programs might enable development planners and policymakers to increase literacy in areas where indigenous schooling touches the lives of so many children.

Article 6: from "I Speak for the Bush " by Everett Standa. From: Blackburn, Horsfall, and Wanjala, eds. *Attachments to the Sun.*

I speak for the bush

When my friend sees me
He swells and pants like a frog
Because I talk the wisdom of the bush!
He says we from the bush
Do not understand civilized ways
For we tell our women
To keep the hem of their dresses
Below the knee.
We from the bush, my friend insists,
Do not know how to 'enjoy':
When we come to the civilized city,
Like nuns, we stay away from nightclubs
Where women belong to no men
And men belong to no women.
And these civilized people
Quarrel and fight like hungry lions!

But, my friend, why do men
With crippled legs, lifeless eyes,
Wooden legs, empty stomachs
Wander about the streets
Of this civilized world?

Teach me, my friend, the trick,
So that my eyes may not
See those whose houses have no walls
But emptiness all around;
Show me the wax you use
To seal your ears
To stop hearing the cry of the hungry;

Teach me the new wisdom
Which tells men
To talk about money and not love,
When they meet women;

Tell your God to convert
Me to the faith of the indifferent,
The faith of those
Who will never listen until
They are shaken with blows.

I speak for the bush:
You speak for the civilized—
Will you hear me?

Everett Standa

Article 7: "Women in Africa: Until Death Us Do Part." by Debby Taylor, *New Internationalist* Sept. 1984.

Women in Africa: until death us do part

Women everywhere work harder than men. But in Africa they work hardest of all – bearing the burden of family survival without sharing the benefits of economic power. The result: poverty itself is locked together with sexual inequality. And Africa will stay poor until its women are free. Debbie Taylor pleads their case.

AFRICA, my Africa. If I had breath enough I would curse: once for the day that you bore me; twice for making me a woman. I would spit at the sun for shining on me, merciless, blazing, every day of my life; withering my spirit and turning my skin rough and dark, black as the bark of the acacia tree.

Africa, Africa, what have they done to you? If I had strength enough I would carry my children far away across land and sea to their concrete capitals and I would stand before their ranks of white-faced men and make them see how dull are the eyes of my children, how slowly they blink and turn their heads, how thin are their arms. And I would show them the palms of my hands, the soles of my feet, the skin of my knees – scarred by stones and splinters and thorns – and my breasts and belly – stretched by 15 years of motherhood. And I would tell those men a story that would make them understand at last why my Africa is dying.

Africa is dying because of me, I would tell them. I have been carrying this continent for centuries. But I can't bear the weight any longer. And as I sink to my knees so Africa sinks down too.

Look at me working, I would say: knee-deep in the south Senegal paddy fields where I alone grow all of our rice crop; or bent low over the dusty land in Tanzania where I keep on tending our maize, sorghum and millet half as long again after the men have gone home; or on the jungle's edge in Zaire where four-fifths of our food is grown by my hands.

Yes, I know I'm not alone. Women everywhere are working: doing two-thirds of the world's work, earning one-tenth of its income, owning one-hundredth of its property. I know the facts. But I know I work hardest of all.

Yes, it's hard for my sisters in India; in Indonesia and Indo-China; in Barbados, Bolivia and Brazil; arms, back and thighs tightening and straining, doing half of all work in the fields. They are bowed and bent by their workload. But mine has

Article 7 (cont'd.)

brought me to my knees. They do half of all field work. But I do half as much again; and half of all work with our animals; and all of the threshing and winnowing. Then home to sweep courtyards, wash clothing, fetch water, cook supper. Yes, it is hard for them. And I'm sorry. But it's hardest of all for me.

Some days, I would tell them – those men with their suits and statistics – my sons and my daughters go hungry while our granary is half-filled with food. When the rains come at last, sweeping their blessed grey curtains across the parched red dust of my Upper Volta fields, my days are so long that I can't make my arms lift the pestle to grind grain for our porridge.

That is my choice. To work or to eat. If I work there is no time to cook. If I cook there is no time to work. In Ghana and Botswana, in Gambia and Zambia – everywhere it is the same story. Food or work. Work or food. Look at your statistics. They will tell you that on the wide plains of Zambia the food I grow is not what the land will yield, but only as much as my hands can weed and my back carry. This is why Africa is dying.

From behind their wide desks they would look at my children, an uneven row of dusty angled limbs and tight black curls; and at me in my new brown skirt and my faded scarlet scarf. Their eyebrows would raise and I'd know what their thoughts were. Where is my man, then? Why can't he help me? He is why Africa's dying.

Africa, oh Africa, what have they done to my man? Once I could admire him as the protector of our land; the one who cut through the jungle, clearing a space for our crops; the one who drove away invaders, who led our animals to grazing and water, who hunted and brought back our meat.

Where is he now, the person who was once my partner, an Adam to my Eve, with whom I was proud to say 'we'?

Look at him now: puffed and pompous in the city, playing with his power, turning his back on the people who raised him; or hat over eyes in the shade of a thorn tree, drowsy and docile, afraid of the sun; or weaving and stumbling and stinking of beer red-eyed and angry, kicking his woman; or herded like cattle to cut down their sugar, to pick their tobacco, collect their rubber, carry their cotton.

They took him away from me; took him and beat him; imprisoned his spirit; took him and chewed him and sucked out his goodness, stole all his strength; then spat him out and sent him home.

Turn your minds backwards, I'd beg them, those men with their secretaries and reports. Remember how Africa was when you landed, beaching your ships on our shores. You found fields with no fences, work with no profit, crops without owners.

Of course life was tough then. It's never been easy: sun always too hot, rain always too late. Childbirth was painful and babies still died. But he used to help me and we were together. I had time for singing and suckling my children, and rights to the land that I weeded each summer; and when I raised my voice it was heard. And of course he still beat me when I cursed too loudly. But I knew him, he knew me, and we were together.

With your guns and your greed you destroyed a whole continent. Your bullets ripped through his shining black flesh. Your pistols emptied themselves into my belly. You fenced our best land and called it yours. And you took him and chained him and made him your servant; made him grow coffee on land that raised millet, and cocoa and tea where we harvested corn. You sent him to burrow away from the sunlight, to die in your tunnels in search of your gold. And you threw him in thousands in the hulls of your tall ships; spat on him, cowed him and sold him like meat. This is why Africa's dying.

Those men with their pink lips, sipping their coffee; would they still be listening to the end of my story? Open your history books, retrace your footsteps. Know that Africa has had more good food-growing land taken for cash crops than any other continent. Know that Africa's woman has lost her land-rights more than woman in any other continent. Know that in the place where half the world's gold is mined we do not even have a vote.

But the worst thing you did to Africa was to divide us: brother from sister and woman from man. You came from countries where a man works for money and his manhood's his wages at the end of the week; where a woman's expected to maintain his household. And it's men who make laws and own land and hold power. You did not respect our tradition of sharing – in work, land and marriage; in what we grew and what we inherited. You wanted to transform us all in your image. But all you achieved was division; destruction.

My man you have stripped of his sense of belonging. You stopped him from doing the things that a man should. You forbade his hunting and warring and peacemaking and put fences up in the path of his scythe.

You taught him that a man either earns wages or stands idle. But there are few who earn wages in our shattered continent. Some you reward, sure, with power and land rights. But most you've left with nothing to live for, snatching some solace in the bars and the brothels.

And how can I blame him for refusing to help me? His scorn for my work makes him feel like he's human; his pride is a jewel in the deep of humiliation.

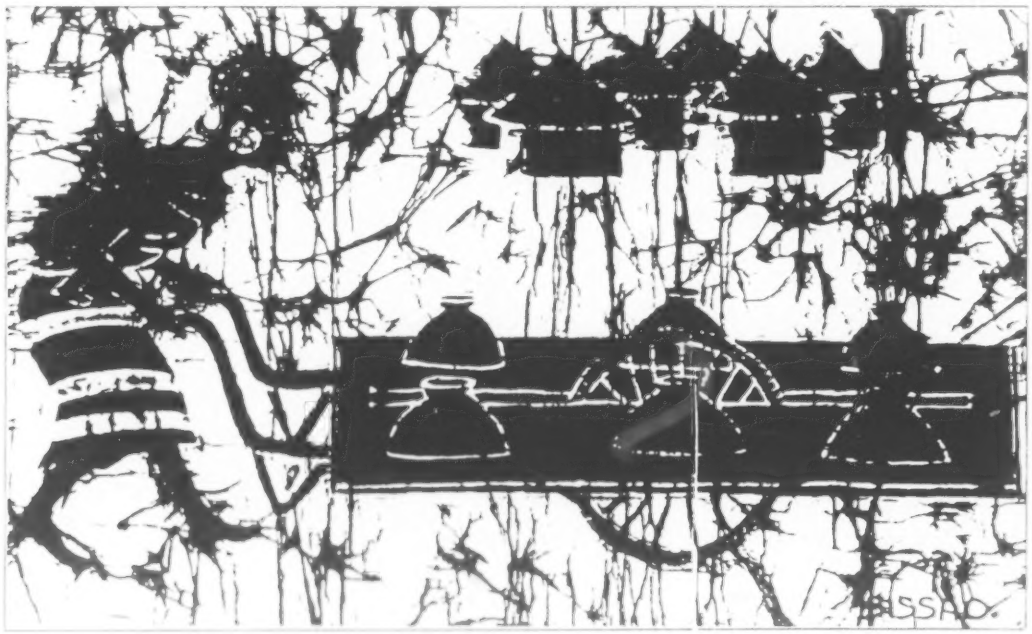
Are you listening up there in your chrome and black armchairs? I'm explaining why Africa is dying.

In Botswana's barren scrubland he wants payment for ploughing, and spanning his oxen is all that a man does. In Uganda he mostly refuses all cropwork, deriding the effort I make to grow food. While Gambia's man's turned his back on tradition, refusing to take up his scythe to clear land. Africa, Africa, my man is a burden: one more to be carried on my aching back.

Can't you see what you've done with your planning and plunder? You've created two half-men where there once was a whole one. One half-man leans languid and lost in our villages, stripped of his spirit and reason for living. This one you call 'farmer'; send in teachers to teach him to farm (while I am out growing the food); lend him money for tractors and tillers (while I am out growing the food); promise him fortunes if he'd only raise cotton (while I am out growing the food); buy our land from him to add to your ranches (while I am out growing the food).

The other you call 'worker'. He's lost to my village; forgotten the place where eight-tenths of Africa lives. He sleeps in a dormitory, a stone's throw from the mine; or under corrugated iron a bus-ride from the factory; or within slabs of white concrete a car-ride from the office.

At first he comes home once a year for a visit, sends money monthly, dreams dreams of childhood. But soon he's forgotten his debt to his village. And now I'm alone in one third of our households, my door ajar for a man who never comes.



Article 8: "The Veil or the Gun." *Voice of Eritrean Women*, Spring 1987

THE VEIL OR THE GUN

"In Eritrea, women have taken off their veils and are enjoying liberation. They have taken up arms and are defending their country.", writes **Eidel Beti**, in a Swiss magazine called "Femina", reporting on her recent trip to the liberated areas of Eritrea. In the article entitled, "The Veil or The Gun", Eidel Beti wrote the following reportage:

> "**Amna** opened the door and entered the car I was in. From afar, there is nothing that distinguishes her from the male fighters. On the road, through the light of the vehicle, we witnessed fighters wearing the same khaki uniforms and armed with kalishnikovs going up and down from the trenches. Women like Amna constitute one-third of the liberation army. Explaining the reasons for her joining the front, she said, 'I joined the EPLF to destroy Ethiopia's oppressive rule and to build revolution.' Having joined the front in 1978, at the age of 17, the war has left its marks on Amna. On her face one can see fine stitches. Wounded in a battle in 1980, today she has a new face. It was a woman doctor, who joined the front after finishing her studies abroad, that performed the plastic surgery which gave Amna a new face. Amna can only see through one eye. After her injury, she participated in an intensive medical training program, becoming one of the 1500 barefoot doctors rendering medical services to the fighters in the trenches.
>
> In Nacfa, I met **Tebles**. The 25 year old Tebles, is the leader of a military company composed of 250 men and women fighters. In 1975, when anyone suspected of sympathizing with the front was being killed by the Derg, she decided to leave Asmara and join the front. Today, based on the education and military training she received in the front, Tebles has become one of the best leaders. Tebles, along with

Article 8 (cont'd.)

the fighters she leads, participated in 18 major battles, and has been wounded twice. One of the battles she participated in was the battle of Barentu. Last year, after seizing Barentu and capturing important weapons and adding to the number of (its 10,000) prisoners war, the EPLF withdrew from Barentu.

In the EPLF, women do not only learn how to use arms. 75% of the women who join the front are illiterates. After joining the front, however, they have been able to read and write as well as know their new rights which ensure their equality with men. This cultural revolution is slowly making its impact on the general population as well. For the past ten years, the EPLF has been educating and distributing information regarding the dangers of [female] circumcision. Today, this campaign has reaped results. Five months ago, laws prohibiting the practice of circumcision was passed by the people in the province of Sahel.

In a resettlement camp, west of Nacfa, I met a midwife who was giving lessons to a gathering of women. She was explaining the use and importance of sanitary napkins. It seems that the advice of midwives has wide acceptance. Maternal mortality which used to be at 27% has now decreased tremendously.

For many Eritreans, the liberation of women is a process being realized in a war clouded with the smoke of napalm. Now, it has become a precious goal. Even under the difficult conditions, it still opens an opportunity for women and the betterment of their living conditions.

I met Mother Zeineb, who was one of the first women to realize that revolution is the process that will liberate women from sexual oppression. She lives in the vicinity of Nacfa. 'Before, we used to live like animals, but now, we are able to take off our veils, choose our own marriage partner, to own land, to speak, to learn and participate in political meetings.", said Mother Zeineb. She has written several poems about the sufferings and hopes (of women and the Eritrean people in general) which the youth are learning from. In one of her poems, Mother Zeineb says:

> 'As the days pass
> our suffering increases
> but it does not alter
> our determination.
> Tell Mengistu
> to stop the crimes
> he is committing
> against our land
> and people.
> Tell the Big Powers
> to help in seeking
> a solution.
> 25 years of war
> is a sacrifice
> of an entire generation.'

My visit concluded with a celebration of Women's Day. On the window of the car that was taking me back to the Sudan, was a picture of **Zahra**. Her face was covered with the barrel of a gun. Martyred at the age of 20, her look haunts me. Her expression seems to say, as Mother Zeineb wrote in her poem, 'Tell Mengistu'."

Women's household responsibilities in our society should not be underrated. Starting from the task of caring for their children's health to the exhausting household chores of fetching water, collecting firewood, grinding grain, cooking etc., women are responsible for the maintenance of their families. Women also contribute a major role in agricultural production. While carrying their infant on their backs, women work in cultivating the land, fertilizing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. Although a woman carries all these responsibilities, she has no part in the decision-making process in the family. In fact, because a woman is considered thriftless, she is not even

Article 8 (cont'd.)

allowed to take grain out of her own storage. In conclusion, we have tried to explain that the factors that determine health status are inseparably intertwined with the socio-economic and political conditions. Thus, in order to improve the health situation and bring about fundamental social change, we have to first get rid of the obstacle which is colonialism. The EPLF, while waging the armed struggle, has taken active steps to improve the health status of the people, and provide them with adequate health services. For a long time now, the EPLF has been implementing its program for the provision of basic health services to all areas.

In its turn, the National Union of Eritrean Women in collaboration with the EPLF Medical Department, has trained 218 traditional midwives, who are now providing their services in their villages. The NUEW has plans to train more women to provide rural health services in the near future. As seen in practice, this method is laying the foundation for a public health program which will truly serve the people now and in the future.

UJSC PHOTO BY SARAH PUTNAM

Article 9: "Training Program Brightens Future for Young Senegalese Women" by Shannon A. Horst, *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 10, 1987.

Training program brightens future for young Senegalese women

TAYLOR HORST

Senegalese development worker Fatou Diakhete

By Shannon A. Horst
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Times are changing in Dakar, Senegal.

For many village girls, a job in the city – once a rite of passage from youth to womanhood – has become the only means of survival for them and their families.

They are streaming into the city from the thirsty, unproductive fields of rural Senegal. They come looking for work – promising to send money and goods to those they leave behind.

The city was once a relatively safe place, where a girl – sometimes accompanied by her mother – would come to work after the harvest season.

It is now crawling with people eager to exploit young girls who arrive alone. The destitution of their villages has left these girls hungering, not only for food, but also for clothes, shelter, and things – pretty things.

But the city, already overflowing with unskilled workers, has few jobs to give them, and there is no family protection amid this teeming, licentious landscape.

Throughout the nations of the developing world this scene is painted over and over again, faster and in greater numbers than ever before. It is particularly bleak in many African countries where the disastrous drought of 1983-85 has left the people without the resources to replenish their lives.

'Since the last drought, the rains do not come, the crops do not grow, and there is nothing to do in the villages.'

– Fatou Diakhete

"Since the last drought, the rains do not come, the crops do not grow, and there is nothing to do in the villages," said Fatou Diakhete, a Senegalese development worker from Dakar who was in Boston recently.

Parents have no choice but to allow the older children to go to the cities in search of work. The boys, she says, often travel abroad, but the girls are more likely to end up in Dakar, the capital.

The future for many of these girls – some of whom are as young as 12 years old – holds greater poverty than they have already known, prostitution, and unwanted pregnancy. For the most desperate, says Ms. Diakhete, "it includes infanticide."

In 1984, however, a program was launched in Dakar that provides these girls with an alternative.

Under the auspices of the Federation of the Senegalese Women's Association (FAFS), Diakhete directs Le Foyer (home or hearth) – a shelter and job-skills training program in the heart of Dakar. Among many projects in the developing world designed to ease the burdens of rapid urbanization, Le Foyer is of great significance.

Besides meeting the immediate needs of its charges, it offers them a road back to their villages: skills to help their communities begin producing once again.

FAFS, a nine-year-old association that promotes consciousness-raising and solidarity among some 80 women's

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groups throughout Senegal, started the project in 1982, working with the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC), a social action agency with more than 40 years' experience in development projects.

After about two years of refining the plans, the two groups launched Le Foyer.

Within a safe, residential atmosphere, the project offers its trainees "life skills" – among them family planning, nutrition, and child care; employment skills – literacy, cooking, dressmaking; and development project skills – needs assessment, basic marketing and cost analysis, and cooperative management.

Le Foyer offers [its participants] a road back to their villages: skills to help their communities begin producing once again.

There are now 20 resident trainees and 80 nonresident trainees from the vicinity of Le Foyer and some 60 trainees in another quarter of Dakar.

Le Foyer was originally conceived as a program to give the girls basic skills with which to work and survive in the city.

But "from the very start it has been modified to meet the needs of the girls – as they see them," says Diakhete. During the project's design stage, FAFS members surveyed some potential participants to find out what they felt they needed and wanted.

"The overwhelming majority wanted to go back to their village and take what they had learned," says Diakhete.

"We asked them, 'What must be done for you to be able to go home and help other girls from getting involved in the trek to the city?' And they told us, 'Teach us to create activities and training that we can use at home.' "

The project is now preparing to graduate its first young charges – by sending them back to their villages.

One group of young women from the program, all from the same rural region, has already met with their villages and devised a project to raise chickens.

FAFS offered to provide the seed money without requiring that it be repaid in full.

But, according to Diakhete, "The villagers have insisted that they be required to repay 100 percent of the loan." Until the loan is paid, a small portion of the profits from the project will go to FAFS; the rest will be reinvested in the community.

FAFS and UUSC intend for the project to be self-sufficient someday.

A chicken-raising project set up just outside Dakar provides the girls with hands-on training and has already begun bringing in a small income.

And a promising feasibility study for a dairy project has been carried out, says Louise Witherite, a UUSC official who has worked closely with Le Foyer.

But perhaps most important, as far as Diakhete is concerned, is that Le Foyer be able to teach the girls agroforestry – a highly successful method of mixing reforestation with crop production. FAFS has already purchased some land and hopes to set up an agricultural training center linked to Le Foyer.

Armed with agroforestry skills, the girls would be better able to help their villages begin producing food again; and teen-age boys and girls would be needed at home to work the fields.

At least for the time being, both the government and the Senegalese people have accepted the fate of the villages and the plight of the young people who seek refuge in the city, says Diakhete.

She says FAFS and UUSC hope "that now that we have our first experiences, we can take them to the government and help it see success at the village level."

Much of Le Foyer's current and future success, as well as the success of four other development projects in Dakar and the surrounding area, depends on Diakhete.

Beside running development projects, Diakhete, who is married and has one child, is a medical secretary and the treasurer of FAFS.

She works not only with FAFS, but also with OEF (formerly the Overseas Education Fund), a Washington-based group that focuses on the needs of women in the developing world.

"She has excellent management skills – most importantly the ability to delegate responsibility. And she is blessed with a boss who encourages her to get as much experience in the development field as she can," says Ms. Witherite, the UUSC official.

That experience includes trips to other countries for seminars and training, such as her recent trip to the United States.

"We often tease her around the office," says Witherite, "about being a woman with eight different hats."

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Session 4/Issue: Environment

Facts About the Environment in the United States

Changing weather patterns, exposure to hazardous substances, contaminated water and high energy bills have increased our awareness of our influence on the planet's environment. We realize that each of us plays a role in nurturing the environment we live in.

The population in the United States represents less than 5% of the world population. However (facts below are from *Time* magazine):

- U.S. residents own 135 million (1/3 world total) cars, increasingly of the large gas-guzzling variety.
- Auto fuel-efficiency requirements are still at a low of 26 miles per gallon.
- North Americans use 1/4 of the world's energy each year.
- They produce the largest amount of trash per capita (each person produces 3 1/2 pounds of trash a day); most is paper trash.
- Only 5-10% of trash gets recycled in the U.S. (30% in West Germany; 60% in Japan). There are no national goals and standards for recycling programs.
- If forced to, companies will adopt manufacturing processes that decrease the amount of waste created. 3M (Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.) cut waste generation in half by using fewer toxic chemicals, separating out wastes that can be reused, and substituting alternative raw materials for hazardous substances, saving $420 million .
- Restrictions on the export of waste and ocean dumping are still minimal.
- According to the Council on Economic Priorities, 8 of 10 U.S. residents live near one of the nation's more than 22,000 identified toxic waste sites.

Facts About the Environment in Africa

- Although many African states have established a "Dumpwatch" system, the widespread and lucrative business of taking on hazardous waste from industrialized nations on African soil is still hard to control.
- Tropical forests in regions throughout Africa are being cut down for timber export without restriction. For example, 90% of the original vegetation in Madagascar has disappeared.
- Public awareness of the dangers of toxic waste is low. Yet dumping such waste will destroy the livelihood of thousands of fishermen, farmers, and jeopardize people's health in entire regions of African nations.
- Numerous ghost companies registered in Gibraltar, Liechtenstein, and Switzerland are responsible for hazardous waste dumping; through investigative research, many can be traced to U.S. companies.
- Pressure on the land by agriculture and growing population has led to massive soil degradation and desertification throughout Africa.
- Alternative fuel sources to replace rapidly dwindling wood supplies are actively being experimented throughout Africa's Sahelian countries.
- Among the world's regions, Africa's energy consumption rate is the lowest.

Ideas for Local Inquiry: Environment

- What are the main environmental issues in your area?
- What population is most affected by exposure to hazardous materials (ethnic groups, women, children)?
- What local organizations, government offices work on environment issues in your area? Are current environmental management programs efficient?
- What environmental review processes exist for manufacturers, plants, and businesses?
- What kinds of local recycling programs exist? What obstacles have they encountered?
- What kinds of environmental education programs exist?
- Are land degradation, unsound mining practices, water contamination and deforestation a problem in your community? How do these compare to environmental issues in Africa?
- What companies in your area produce hazardous waste, and how is it disposed of? Where is hazardous waste exported to? Are any of the companies involved in hazardous waste management also involved with companies who export waste to Africa? Discuss ways that hazardous waste disposal could be regulated and actions your group could take (i.e. letters to corporations and elected officials)
- How are environmental issues portrayed in the local press? Does the coverage reinforce the notion about hazardous waste that "it's okay if it's not in my backyard"?
- What cooperative, citizens' initiatives concerning global environmental safety have been undertaken? Have there been any applicable proposals for debt-for-nature swaps? Alternative energy? Recycling? Tree-planting campaigns?

Through this inquiry, what conclusions can you make

1) concerning environmental and waste management in your community?

2) concerning connections with Africa on the environment and waste management?

3) What kind of action in response to this issue would you recommend?

Recommended Videos

Trees of Hope

In the African Sahel and elsewhere on the continent, the extensive use of firewood has led to large-scale deforestation. The village woodlot in Niger offers hope for the land and for the people who depend on wood for fuel. (20 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515, (219) 264-3102.

Overview of the Readings for Session 4/Issue: Environment

Africa is a huge and complex continent embracing ecosystems ranging from negligibly productive deserts to humid equatorial rain forests. Each ecosystem presents its own climatic restraints and requires different human adaptations in lifestyle. In recent times, however, these ecosystems have experienced common environmental stresses. The readings below address some of these issues and their implications for both the peoples of Africa and the world at large.

The East and West African Sahelian and Sudanic regions experience seasonal droughts caused by equatorial rainfall patterns. The people of these regions have adapted to the conditions over the centuries. Article 1, the poem "The Dry Season" by Kwesi Brew, expresses the sentiments of the people who must periodically cope with decreasing resources. It suggests that drought was not always the ordained predecessor of famine it is assumed to be today.

In pre-colonial Africa the inhabitants of the arid savannah lived in a dynamic equilibrium with the environment; their modes of life reflected this adaptation. Today, the pressures of short range development, economic concerns, and population growth, have contributed to the upset of these systems. The result: problems such as deforestation, overgrazing and subsequent desertification. "West Africa's Spreading Desert" (article 2), describes this situation and the impacts of international aid on the populations in the Sahel (the name of the region of mostly landlocked countries in West Africa).

Emerging hand-in-hand with desertification is deforestation — the large-scale loss of forests. African forests are being cut down at an ever-increasing rate to satisfy demands for fuel, export to industrialized nations, building materials, and agricultural land. The cleared land is farmed by agriculturalists or grazed by pastoralists in search of more productive land to support their growing populations. Land cleared of forests often cannot produce what the concentrations of people require of it. Not too long after it is cleared and settled, the land becomes nutrient poor; production falls, and people are forced to move again. Once cleared land has been overused and abandoned, it degrades rapidly to scrub brush or desert. This process changes large tracts of forest to desert, and increases the unusable land mass. The use of living fences for reforestation and crop protection is described in article 3; this community-based solution requires low investment and may prove highly successful.

Assuring adequate water supplies is an ongoing problem in areas stricken by large-scale desertification and deforestation. Article 4 describes alternatives that emphasize small-scale projects. Water projects of this sort can capitalize on resources and technologies that have existed locally since before the turn of the century and that, due to colonial control and lack of upkeep, have fallen out of use.

Wildlife conservation in Africa tends to be a well-published and somewhat controversial issue. We learn of a new modernized breed of wildlife poacher in article 5; corruption in both the African nations and our own contributes to these problems. Note that in this case, those poaching wildlife are also controversial political figures in their countries. Article 6 discusses the plight of the elephant. It presents some of the ramifications of the issue ranging from international political appeals to the specific environmental requirements of the elephant.

Many regions of the African continent are rich in mineral resources. Mining, therefore, is another complex environmental issue, spanning ecological, economic, and political boundaries. Mining can be seen as both a help and a hindrance to environmental conservation. On the one hand, it decimates the land; on the other, it affects much smaller, more contained areas than deforestation or intensive agriculture. Minerals also tend to return a higher profit than crops. Article 8 describes some of the political factors involved in the mining of such minerals as co[illegible], manganese, and chrysotile asbestos.

In the last few decades, the problem of toxic chemicals has spread to Africa. The issue ranges from a question of which, if any, pesticides to use on crops, to what to do with toxic wastes. Article 9 looks at the issue of toxic waste dumping in Africa, a problem originating in industrialized nations that has raised havoc in several African nations. This problem has been exposed only recently and has no immediate answers; much toxic waste export is done under false names, fake labeling, and through financial transactions that are difficult to trace. The article gives some history on the issue, and implicates specific American corporations in the practice of dumping.

The environmental situation in Africa is a crucial issue; the aspects mentioned here, while only part of the picture, are particularly important to us because they are global and affect us all. The African environments that are being decimated are tied to world weather systems; they are not isolated. Loss of these ecosystems will decrease, not increase, productivity. And, in the long run, the result is not progress. Leadership in African and industrialized nations must take environmental factors into account more than they do now. There are answers, and in this section, we have focused on alternatives of African origin, because, ultimately, this is where they must be found.

Article 1: "The Dry Season" by Kwesi Brew. From: Blackburn, Horsfall, and Wanjala, eds. , *Attachments to the Sun*

The dry season

The year is withering; the wind
Blows down the leaves;
Men stand under the eaves
And overhear the secrets
Of the cold dry wind,
Of the half-bare trees.

The grasses are tall and tinted,
Straw-gold hues of dryness,
And the contradicting awryness,
Of the dusty roads a-scatter
With pools of colourful leaves,
With ghosts of the dreaming year.

And soon, soon the fires,
The fires will begin to burn,
The hawk will flutter and turn
On its wings and swoop for the mouse,
The dogs will run for the hare,
The hare for its little life.

Kwesi Brew

Article 2: "West Africa's Spreading Desert" by Colin Nickerson, *Boston Globe*, July 8, 1984.

West Africa's spreading desert

Thousands die as 16-year drought continues; man contributes to the problem

by Colin Nickerson
Globe Staff

MINDELO, Cape Verde — Located on the outskirts of one of Africa's loveliest cities, the sun-baked slum called Bidonville is inhabited almost entirely by peasants who have fled the drought-ravaged countryside of this archipelago nation. Joao Antonio Gomes came here in 1973, after his corn crop shriveled and died for the fifth year in a row.

"I am a farmer, but there is nothing left to farm," said the 47-year-old Gomes last fall as he stood in the doorway of the one-room shack built of flattened oil drums that serves as home for himself, his wife, their 10 children and a pink-eyed goat. "The drought has taken everything."

Africa is well into the second decade of what may be the worst drought in history. Thousand have died and millions of acres of crop and grazing lands have been turned to desert. Yet, no one really knows what is causing the terrible dry spell or when it will end. One of the few things experts do agree on is that Africa's drought has become "self-sustaining," feeding on the very damage it creates.

They also agree that the natural disaster has been compounded by human practices. Specifically, the overgrazing of cattle on marginal land has promoted the spread of desert. In addition, African governments have adopted policies that encourage the intensive cultivation of cash crops for export and actually discourage the growing of grains to feed hungry villagers.

Indeed many agricultural experts believe that some of the effects of the drought, even in the hard-hit Sahel region, can be alleviated by a return to traditional agricultural practices.

"The Sahel has always been a marginal area; it is not Iowa, and never will be," said Michael Scott, director of overseas programs for Oxfam-America. "But neither does it have to exist in a perpetual state of crisis. A natural disaster doesn't always have to be a human disaster."

Twenty-four African nations are in the grip of the devastating dry spell that began in the western corner of the continent in 1968. As a result, fully one-quarter of Africa's 513 million inhabitants depend on emergency grain shipments from abroad for survival, according to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

The drought is changing the face of the continent. Right now, about 20 percent of Africa is covered by desert. But if land-use patterns don't change drastically, scientists and other experts warn, half of the continent will be arid wasteland in 50 years.

The Sahel region

Nowhere is the situation worse than in the Sahel region, comprised of eight west and central African nations — Cape Verde, Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Upper Volta [Burkina Faso], Niger and Chad — where the drought has persisted for at least 16 years.

For those Subsaharan countries, "drought has become a permanent phenomenon," in the words of Aristedes Pereira, president of Cape Verde and outgoing head of the international Committee for Drought Control.

Recurring droughts have always plagued West Africa, but this one is especially severe and prolonged. Moreover, it appears to be spreading rapidly into central and southern Africa, where the Red Cross tallied 100,000 "drought-related" deaths in 1983.

Meeting earlier this year in Nairobi, Kenya, meteorologists from around the world agreed on only one thing: no one really knows how the present drought started or when it will end.

Some speculate that a world-wide climatic shift is occurring, and that the spread of desert in Africa is related to the spread of deserts in South America, Australia, and the southwestern United States.

Others theorize that the increased reflection of sunlight off lands denuded of vegetation has created atmospheric conditions that inhibit cloud formation — so less rain falls. Still others say that the nearly three decades of abundant rainfall that preceded the drought was the true aberration and that long dry spells are just part of the region's normal weather pattern.

"This is not necessarily an abnormal occurrence," said climatologist Reid Bryson, director of the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Environmental Studies. "This could be part of a natural cycle."

Bryson thinks the present drought was triggered by a minor climatic shift that has left the northern hemisphere somewhat cooler than usual. Such shifts occur every few decades, he said.

"During cooler decades, the monsoons [seasonal rains] are weaker in that part of the world," he said. "I expect we'll soon see droughts in India and Pakistan for the same reasons."

Bryson, an authority on world weather patterns, is among those who believe the present drought will last many years.

"Reliable rains will not return to the Sahel until after the turn of the century," he said.

Article 2 (cont'd.)

Population and economics

But abnormally low rainfall is not the only reason that vast sections of the Sahel are turning irrevocably to desert. Nor is it the sole reason that hunger is a fact of life in much of Africa. Overgrazing and other myopic agricultural practices — combined with rapid population growth and economic policies that have emphasized the production of cash crops for export instead of grains for consumption at home — have all played a role in transforming crisis into catastrophe.

"The problems are extraordinarily complex," said Leonard Berry, provost of Clark University in Worcester and former chairman of the National Research Council's Advisory Committee on the Sahel. "It has been a long, cumulative process of things going from bad to worse."

Despite staggering amounts of foreign aid (of the $8 billion of international aid that goes annually to Africa, some $1.8 is earmarked for the eight Sahelian countries), much of it intended to boost agricultural self-sufficiency, many experts say the Sahel is in tougher shape now than ever before.

One indication of this is the continent's increasing reliance on food from abroad. Ten years ago, the Sahelian nations needed to import 1.5 million metric tons of grain to stave off famine. Billions of dollars and countless agricultural development schemes later, the same countries will need to import twice as much grain — 3 million metric tons — if widespread starvation is to be averted in 1984, according to some studies.

And while food production has increased at a rate of only 1.2 percent a year in recent decades, the population is increasing at a rate of 3 percent. The planet's poorest continent also has the fastest expanding population in history.

"The fertility of Africa's people is outstripping the fertility of Africa's soil," said Edward Wolf, a researcher for Worldwatch, a Washington-based environmental group.

Meanwhile, each year some 1.8 million acres of crop and grazing land are "irretrievably lost" to desert in the Sahel region while another 5 million acres become so badly degraded that they are useless for growing crops or supporting livestock, according to the United Nations FAO.

Mortality rates down

Ironically, the same relief efforts that have increased longevity and raised the standard of living among Africa's poorest people are partly responsible for the Sahel's decline.

Emergency food and health programs have cut infant mortality rates and increased the average lifespan, meaning more people live longer. And more people means that more of the Sahel's scarce trees are being cut away for cooking fires. As a result, the region's thin topsoil, without tree roots to hold it in, is whisked away by the "harmattan" wind blowing off the Sahara. This hastens the expansion of desert into crop and grazing lands.

Other well-intentioned programs have just plain backfired.

With internatiional assistance, many deep-bore water wells have been diug throughout the region. These were intended to providle a reliable replacement for the shallow, seasonal wells tracditionally used by nomadic herdsmen.

However, so they won't deplete the water table, the new wells are spaced far apart. Instead of roaming in search of graze and water, as in the past, herdsmen congregate their cattle around the deep-bore wells. The surrounding land iis soon stripped of vegetation, incapable of supporting the animals.

"I've seen these wells ringed by thousands of dead cattle," said Scott. "They have plenty of water but no graze, and the next deep well is too far away for the weak animals to reach."

At the same time, many Sahelian governments are pursuing agricultural policies that promote the cultivation of cash crops for export to Europe (thus earning badly needed foreign exchange revenue) instead of grains to feed the villages.

Small farmers, unable to make a living growing grain, have been squeezed off the better lands and onto poor fields once used for grazing. This, in turn, has forced the region's 5 million nomadic herdsmen to drive their cattle onto even more marginal lands. Overgrazing on these lands has speeded up the process of desertification.

Oxfam, Worldwatch and other organizations believe that programs must be designed to encourage a return to small-scale, traditional agriculture that feeds local populations and is less destructive of the land. Also, the international community has to continue financing anti-desertification projects, such as sand dune fixation, reforestation, and the building of dams and wells to prevent the run-off of topsoil when the rains do fall.

Meanwhile, water remains Africa's most precious substance: the life of the continent revolves around the quest for it.

On the Cape Verde island of Fogo, Firmina Pina-Cardoso, 23 years old and pregnant with her fifth child, rises before daybreak and pads two miles from her rude stone cabin on a parched mountainside to the nearest public well. There she fills a six-gallon metal container with water for cooking, washing and drinking. She makes the journey at least twice a day.

"The water is everything," she said. "Without it we die."

Pina-Cardoso hoisted the heavy container to her head and began the long trip home, bare feet kicking up puffs of red dust from the lifeless earth.

Article 3: "Protecting the Garden" by Hamado Ouangraoua, *IDRC Reports*, Oct. 1988.

PROTECTING THE GARDEN

The province of Sanguié, in the West African country of Burkina Faso, has a long tradition of market gardening. To protect crops from wind and browsing animals, farmers often construct fences using dead millet stalks. Over the past two years, though, farmers have become familiar with an alternative — "living fences". An experiment in which a tree called Acacia nilotica *is grown in the form of hedges has produced impressive results. And the advantages of this kind of fence have been amply demonstrated at the farmers' cooperative in the village of Guido.*

HAMADO OUANGRAOUA

Just outside the village of Guido, about 30 market gardeners live on the hillside bordering a reservoir of milky, clay-coloured water. Sheep, cattle, and goats graze under denuded cherry trees and shea trees whose crowns have been yellowed by the dust of the African harmattan winds.

For generations, the gardeners have protected their crops with millet stalk fences. But experiments with living fences over the past two years are giving positive results and could make millet stalk fences a thing of the past. Living fences now extend 400 metres along the west side of the plot belonging to the Guido farmers' cooperative. For a community that has always placed great value on individuality, this collective effort is a noteworthy achievement.

Mathieu Bagnama, a forestry extension worker from the neighboring village of Réo, is in charge of providing information and follow-up on the living fence experiment. His relationship with the villagers is good. The fact that he shares their culture enables him to understand their strong points and avoid offending them on touchy issues. He has thus been able to turn their individualism to advantage, assigning each person a share of the work.

Once the layout of the hedge had been determined, each farmer was given a section of earth to dig, plant, and tend. Not all the farmers were enthusiastic, but none shirked his responsibility.

Acacia nilotica, the local tree species used in the hedge, is thorny and grows rapidly. It doesn't require much care; in fact, most of the farmers haven't had to water at all since the hedge was planted. If planting is done at the beginning of the rainy season (June-July), watering isn't necessary. If done later, light watering for the first few months is sufficient.

When the hedge was planted, the young plants were protected and helped along by the old structure of millet stalks, now infested with termites. "You have to prune the hedge and plug any gaps that appear as the plants grow," explains Rafael Sandogo, one of the farmers. His 14-year-old son adds that millet fences require a lot of work, and the stalks cannot then be used as heating fuel or fertilizer, or for other domestic purposes.

Salif Kaboré is a farmer who has come from Boassa to see the living fences for himself. He knows the value of safeguarding his agricultural investment: "Without protection, it is pointless to grow anything. Animals will eat it all. This year, we asked our extension workers for wire fencing, but they advised us to work with less expensive materials until our profits are larger. We decided to protect our gardens with 'seckos' (mats). Some we made out of long grasses, and some we bought. But now I think we'll build a hedge like this one."

Digging furrows in the Sahelian sun is hard work, but Joseph Dakouré, the oldest of the market gardeners visiting the co-op says: "There's nothing complicated about the work. The seeds are no problem — the plant grows wild all around here. If the seeds are sown in June or July, you don't even have to water them. Digging is hard, but you only have to do it once. I know this species, *Acacia nilotica*. Afterwards, you just have to trim the extra growth and use it to fill the gaps."

Living fences are a lifetime investment. There is no need to replace stakes or find straw to weave into mats. Careful pruning is basically all the care required. The hedges also have many secondary advantages. If used in conjunction with a windbreak, for example, they can help to conserve moisture and reforest the land. Their leaves provide the fields with valuable organic matter, and their roots prevent erosion.

In addition to the members of the cooperative, several villagers have adopted this method themselves. Paul Kinda's hedge is just six months old. He has been experimenting with sisal hedges for 30 years, but finds them unsatisfactory. A year ago he planted *Acacia nilotica* in bunches, but this did not prove successful. He is now using the method recommended by the forestry extension worker.

Eugène Bernardin is just one of his many neighbours to follow suit. In fact, the village nursery has absolutely no *Acacia nilotica* left in stock!

Cost advantage

The use of living fences obviously involves a monetary advantage as well. The price per metre of wire mesh fence, for example, is high: 1400 CFA francs (CA$6). And in the case of the Boassa market gardeners who installed woven mats all around their plots, they had to borrow 60 000 CFA (CA$260) from a local NGO.

Minor obstacles remain, however, such as the supply of plastic pots, which are vital to the development of farm nurseries. Forestry researcher Goudouma Zigani, the project manager from the Ministry of the Environment, feels that this is a priority if production costs are to be kept down.

Lastly, other methods of cultivating the land and planting the hedges are currently being tried in Gonsé, near the capital. "In six months, we will have the results of these experiments. We hope to find a solution that involves as little inconvenience and expense as possible for the farmers," says Mr Zigani.■

Hamado Ouangraoua is a journalist from Burkina Faso. He writes for Carrefour africain, *a weekly government publication.*

Article 4: "The Crucial Resource — Water" by David K. Willis, *Christian Science Monitor*, Africa Blueprint for Survival, Sept. 12, 1986.

The crucial resource WATER

Khartoum, Sudan

Stuck up on a grimy wall inside the offices of the United Nations Children's Fund here is a winsome poster showing a small girl wearing a large turban.

Above her is a question: "What Do You Want to Be When You Grow Up?"

The answer, below her, is simple:

"Alive!"

To stay alive in Africa today means having access to water. People will stay in a village with water but almost no food. They will leave a village with some food but no water.

"Without water it's impossible to have development," says UNICEF director James Sarr in N'Djamena, Chad.

To most Westerners, the African famine has been caused by lack of water — drought. Actual causes are more deeply rooted: decades of mismanagement by African and Western governments, too much priority given to cash crops for export, civil wars, corruption, apathy, and a failure to respond to the gradual breaking down of the traditional "slash and burn" method of cultivation under pressure of record rates of population growth. But adequate, clean, drinkable water is vital. A new blueprint for finding, conserving, and efficiently using African water is urgently needed.

Ideas for such a blueprint come from Jamie Wickens, an American who heads the UN World Food Program in N'Djamena, and Samir Basta, an Egyptian who is UNICEF director in Sudan. On an upper floor of a UN building in N'Djamena, Mr. Wickens worries that rain-fed farming can no longer sustain people across the seven mainland countries of the Sahel.

"Drought cycles are coming more frequently now," he says. "Every year Chadians in the north plant millet, sorghum, and maize [corn] — and nothing grows." His solution: Intensify a process already begun in Niger and Mali to make maximum use of existing ground-level water reservoirs in dry seasons. He ticks off the methods.

Chad, Niger, and Mali all have water in their wadis, or small oasis valleys. Chad's Kanem region has 500 to 600 wadis, but only 150 are being used to supply mini-irrigation networks. More unused wadis lie in the Biltine and Lake Fittri areas.

The World Food Program is trying to persuade more farmers to develop wadi water by offering to pay food to whoever digs mini-canals to lead the water away.

"I've seen wheat growing in wadis in February [the dry season] three feet high," Wickens says. "I've seen citrus fruits and grapes. . . ."

Wickens also says many more garden plots for vegetables should be started on empty riverbeds, where water is still available below the surface. I saw such plots in the bed of the Chari River in N'Djamena.

"While the drought continues, we have to use water reserves while they're available," he says. "Lake Chad is drying up. The Chari and Logone Rivers are shrinking.

"Wadi farming and the rest is simple technology, manual labor. All we need are food-aid supplies to pay workers, and seeds. . . ."

Drilling also goes ahead in Chad. UNICEF's James Sarr has just signed a $1 million contract with a French company for 100 new boreholes and is trying to convince the United States Agency for International Development that a $1.8 million contract for more drilling is cost-effective.

UN PHOTO

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Article 4 (cont'd.)

In Khartoum, Samir Basta, tall and genial, has launched the biggest water project in Sudan, using UNICEF funds.

"We need to drill more, and that means more truck-mounted drilling rigs," he said. "We've already turned over to the government a dozen big rigs, which we still repair and maintain. . . ."

Drilling for water is complex and expensive. People dance for joy when water springs from the desert, but they are disappointed if holes are empty, or if water isn't drinkable, or runs out.

Yet in a country as vast as Sudan (22 million people in an area as big as Western Europe), Mr. Basta sees no choice but to keep drilling. A US truck-mounted drill, however, with equipment for wet and dry conditions, and for sand and rock, can cost $250,000. About one-third of UNICEF's Sudanese budget goes for water projects.

In other parts of Africa, as well, blueprints need to be found to:

- Dig and repair more wells, by hand or drill.
- Build more stone terraces and mini-catchment areas to hold on to brief, sharp, heavy tropical rains.
- Eventually harness rivers such as the horseshoe-shaped Niger, whose delta has enormous water resources.

So far, sufficient money, ideas, and determination have been lacking. Much more work is needed — such as the effort by Oxfam, the British relief agency, to provide refugee camps with water in eastern Sudan and Wollo Province, Ethiopia.

The richer countries of the world spent $360 billion on arms in 1980. Experts say that the money from just 10 days of that spending would meet the annual budget set up by the UN World Water and Sanitation Decade (1981-90).

Once wells are dug, the wells, pipes, and pumps need to be maintained and repaired. But governments lack the funds.

Cities, with their slum health hazards, receive most of the money spent for water in poorer countries. Now rural areas need more attention. Particularly active in rural areas are UNICEF and the aid agencies of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Canada, and West Germany.

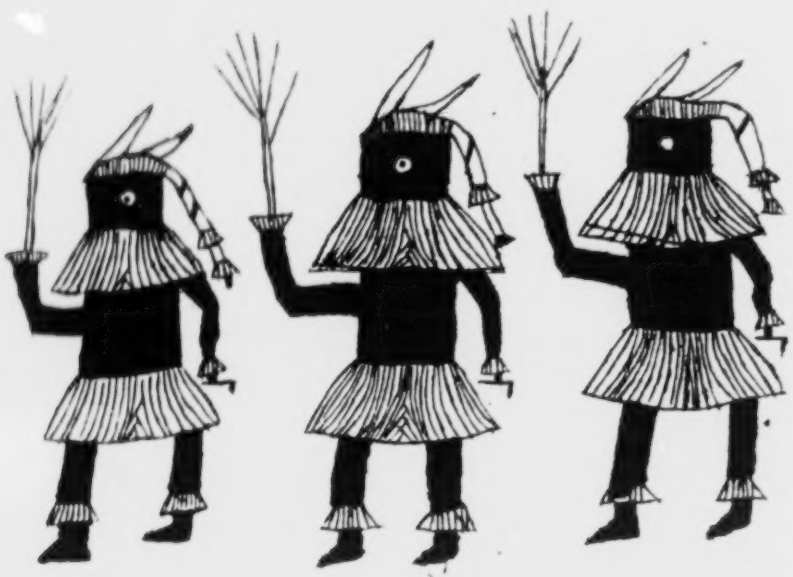
Article 5: "War Policies Threaten Wildlife." *Africa News*, Nov. 14, 1988.

War Policies Threaten Wildlife

Six people – three Americans and three South Africans – have been arrested in Connecticut and charged with conspiring to import rhino horns and other game trophies from endangered and protected species into the U.S. In addition, the six imported AK-47 machineguns into this country from South Africa. The charges were filed by the U.S. Attorney's office in Connecticut after a nine-month investigation into the activities of the six. Indictments are expected to be handed down within a week to ten days.

Two of the accused are members of the South African Defense Force and are stationed in Namibia. They are believed by the U.S. Attorney to be part of a "significant international group trafficking in the black market for rhino horns." The black rhino horns involved in the Connecticut transaction were apparently taken from rhinos killed by SADF troops in Angola and sold on the black market.

Less than 20 years ago, the black rhino herd in Africa numbered about 65,000. By 1985, there were about 11,000 of the endangered animals left, and this year, the count stands at fewer than 4,000. Rhinos, elephants and other game species are being decimated across the continent by poachers, and in southern Africa, their trophies are sold to finance the activities of rebel groups like Unita and Remano. ■



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Article 6: "Fight Intensifies in Africa on Slaughter of Elephants" by Thomas Palmer, *Boston Globe*, Nov. 23, 1988.

Fight intensifies in Africa on slaughter of elephants

By Thomas Palmer
Globe Staff

AMBOSELI NATIONAL PARK, Kenya – The great, gray creatures move regally, as if in slow motion, across Africa's plain, delighting tourists with their trumpeting and flapping of ears.

But lifeless, mutilated elephant carcasses, evidence of poaching, increasingly dot the land.

An estimated 70,000 elephants are slaughtered annually, as an intense conflict escalates between the outlaws, who hunt elephants for their ivory tusks, and conservationist groups worldwide seeking to save them.

"I don't mean to be a chauvinist for elephants," researcher and author Cynthia Moss said in an interview last week in the Nairobi office of the African Wildlife Foundation, "but they deserve something better than they're getting."

Shockwaves were felt in and out of Africa earlier this month when five rare white rhinoceros were shot to death in Kenya's heavily guarded Meru National Park, horns sawed off for their alleged aphrodisiacal quality or for use as dagger handles in the Arabian peninsula.

"Poachers strike again," The Standard newspaper screamed eight days ago. "Ten elephants killed in Tsavo."

The Kenya government, thrown on the defensive by these attacks on the basic resources of its lucrative tourist industry, denied the Standard's report. But one of the many wildlife specialists in Nairobi said that poachers had killed at least three elephants, possibly more.

Poachers are increasingly forming guerrilla armies. They carry high-powered automatic weapons, sometimes airlift their treasures, and have reportedly operated in numbers of 50 or more. Ill-trained, low-paid game wardens, often equipped only with old Lee-Enfield rifles, try to fight the poachers. Many wardens drive conspicuous vehicles over the thousands of square miles they must patrol.

"I'm not the original bushman, and I could avoid them forever," said Truman P. Young, research ecologist who is examining ways to protect wildlife on Kenya's vast, private ranches.

Poachers have not stalked Amboseli's 600 to 700 elephants since the 1970s, largely because of the heavy presence of researchers and tourists.

But elsewhere across Africa poachers create carnage by sawing the faces of their victims to secure the tusks, which are then sold at more than $50 a pound on the black market.

Researchers like Moss and Joyce H. Poole, who have conducted a 16-year study of the Amboseli elephant population, emphasize the extraordinary consequences of the death of one elephant.

- Elephants live in matriarchal families associated with larger groups, and the young are extremely dependent until they are at least 10 for basic elements such as food, protection from predators and shade from the equatorial sun. Even between ages 6 and 10, a motherless elephant has only a 50 percent chance of surviving.
- Females do not breed until they are in their early teens, males until they are about 35. And it is the bigger, older elephants – the ones with larger tusks – that poachers prefer.
- And research has shown that elephants grieve over the loss of their relatives, with lasting effects on the stability of the family.

"They're so tightly bonded, these animals," said Poole. "... We're just very concerned about the effects poaching is having on social behavior and reproductive patterns."

According to the foundation, poaching is causing a "crash" in elephant numbers. Africa's estimated elephant population in 1979 was 1.3 million; today it is under 750,000.

In May, the African Wildlife Foundation proclaimed 1988 "Year of the Elephant." President Reagan this fall signed a bill, supported by the World Wildlife Fund, that places sanctions on any country dealing in illegal ivory.

The law also prohibits ivory imports into the United States from nations not among the 96 that adhere to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, known as CITES. Many people do not think that CITES will be able to control the illegal market.

Many of those involved say there should be a worldwide ban on trading ivory products. The new US legislation provides for a ban on all sales by January 1990 if there is no reduction in trading of illegal ivory.

"We're all convinced that ... it won't work and trade will be banned," said Ed Wilson, a representative of the World Wildlife Fund in Nairobi.

"The elephant has become such a crisis that some of the major fund-raising organizations have set up a committee to monitor this," said E.U. Curtis Bohlen, senior vice president of the World Wildlife Fund.

An "action plan" to save Africa's elephants has been drawn up and accepted in principle by wildlife groups. They will investigate the ivory trade and complete a report, with recommendations, in July.

Part of the strategy is awareness. "There's an alarming ignorance even in the States," said Stanley-Price. "Some people don't even connect ivory with elephants."

Article 7: "Lake Victoria's Ecosystem, Vital to Millions, May be Unraveling" by William Booth, *The Washington Post*, June 5, 1989.

Lake Victoria's Ecosystem, Vital to Millions, May Be Unraveling

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

The greatest freshwater lake in Africa, once a living aquarium filled with hundreds of species of exotic fish, may be poised on the brink of an ecological collapse that would rob millions of lakeshore people of their major source of protein.

An international team of researchers has reported that Lake Victoria, the third largest lake in the world, is dominated by just three species of fish, including an introduced predator called the Nile perch. Unlike the perch familiar in American waters, the Nile perch can grow six feet long and weigh several hundred pounds. A relentless carnivore at the top of the food chain, the Nile perch has so devastated native fish species that it has resorted to feeding on its own young.

As troubling, the scientists reported that the bottom third of the lake is now anaerobic. With little or no oxygen below a depth of 110 feet, the lake's deepest region is a virtual dead zone where no fish can survive. At its deepest, the lake is 270 feet deep.

The profound disruption of Lake Victoria and its food web extends to an estimated 8 million Africans who live along the shoreline in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The deterioration of native fish stocks has overturned traditional fishing and forced the Africans to depend on the introduced perch, a fishery that is proving to be highly unstable in other lakes in Africa.

"As an ecologist, it's hard for me to believe that the system can last for long," said William Cooper, a zoology professor at Michigan State University and a leader of an international expedition to Lake Victoria sponsored by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Les Kaufman, a fish specialist at the New England Aquarium in Boston, said, "We feel confident that something very profound is happening. The guts of the lake are in trouble."

The cascade of ecological consequences, which touches the lake's biggest and smallest inhabitants—from the bacteria lurking at the bottom of the lake to the fisherman casting his net from a dugout canoe—began with the idea among British colonists of attracting tourists through sport fishing.

The huge Nile perch seemed a good candidate and in the early 1960s the British stocked Lake Victoria with Nile perch. In 20 years, the eating machine spread to every corner of the lake. As the Nile perch population exploded, it sent some 350 species of native fish into a tailspin. Many of these natives are from a rich and diverse fish family called the cichlids, which had evolved to occupy dozens of niches in the food web, and had done so in an extremely short period of evolutionary time.

With the introduction of Nile perch, the lake's ecosystem began to unravel in unexpected ways. Blue-green algae began to flourish, as the native tilapia fish that once grazed on the algae were consumed by the perch. "The production of algae may have doubled," said Robert Hecky, a scientist at the Freshwater Institute in Winnipeg, and a member of the international team.

As Nile perch spread, local fisherman began shifting their harvest from native tilapia to Nile perch. The perch is a tasty, meaty fish.

Traditionally, Lake Victoria fisherman either sold their tilapia catch for that day's consumption or preserved the little fish by drying them in the sun. Nile perch are too big and too oily to dry, so they must be smoked over charcoal fires. To feed the fires, the people have cut down the surrounding forests, extending the ecological catastrophe out of the water and up to the slopes around the lake.

At present, perch populations are strong. But experts fear the fish will soon deplete its prey and then its population will crash, sending the fishing industry into a bust that could, as fish stocks recover, become a cycle of booms and busts. "It's hard for us to imagine how dependent the Africans are on the lake for their daily needs," said Hecky. "Without the fish, they don't eat protein."

The scientific team, which includes researchers from Kenya, Israel, Canada and the United States, suspects that other factors may be at work in the collapse of the lake. They believe that overfishing, pollution and even acid rain may be contributing to fish kills and depletion of oxygen in Lake Victoria.

"Perhaps it isn't a simple case of an introduced species eating up all the natives. Maybe it's more insidious than that," Kaufman said.

In the past, portions of the lake became anaerobic from time to time. But never for long. A fishing survey done in 1970 found large collections of native fish at all depths, including bottom-dwelling catfish. But recent surveys in December and March showed the bottom third of the lake to be lifeless.

One reason may be that sulfates are raining into the lake, and this pollution is feeding bacteria that use sulfur to digest the mounds of dead organic matter that amass on the bottom of the lake. The bacteria, in turn, rob the lake's bottom of oxygen as they digest the dead fish and algae on the lake floor.

For all the pessimism, there remains some hope, according to Kaufman. During their last trip to the lake, the scientists discovered that there was a narrow layer of water just above the anaerobic zone that contained just enough oxygen for many native cichlids, but not enough to support the Nile perch.

In future expeditions, the scientists hope to survey this refuge with a remote-operated submersible, and they hope to find rich concentrations of fish just out of reach of the Nile perch.

An introduced predator, the Nile perch, has devastated native fish species, and the lake's deepest region, with little or no oxygen, is a virtual dead zone where no fish can survive.

Article 8: "Unnecessary Dependence" by Steve Askin, *Africa News*, Sept. 19, 1988.

Unnecessary Dependence

HARARE - A new study by a leading mining expert concludes that U.S. dependence on South African minerals is being exaggerated by opponents of sanctions against South Africa.

Strategic minerals are specifically exempted from the existing U.S. ban on South African imports, and the exclusion is maintained in the stronger sanctions bills now before Congress.

To be exempt, a mineral must be certified by the president to be "essential for the economy, public health or defense" of the U.S. and not be available from "alternative reliable suppliers."

Minerals economist Paul Jourdan of Zimbabwe's Institute of Mining Research says the Reagan administration's designation of ten minerals supplied by South Africa as "strategic" is so "blatantly ludicrous" as to provoke suspicion "that the apartheid regime has significant support in the State Department." Jourdan's report, entitled "U.S. Mineral Dependence on South Africa: Exploding the Myth," has just been published by the institute.

Jourdan says the provision exempting the South African minerals from import bans, based on South Africa being the only reliable supplier, is particularly ironic. He points to Pretoria's use of military force to sabotage potential competitors in the region and estimates that South African destabilization has cost black-led neighbors, including Zimbabwe, $4.5 billion in lost mine production alone.

Jourdan proposes a program of "positive sanctions" to help these nations rebuild while embargoing South Africa. The "frontline states" of southern Africa, Jourdan reports, already produce several of the minerals, and they could potentially supply most of the ten.

He argues further that even without new production, South Africa is an essential source for only two items on the exemption list: chromium/ferrochrome and platinum group metals. And even those, he says, can be replaced at minimal cost if the U.S. invests in mine expansion here in Zimbabwe, a leading chromite producer that also has major platinum reserves.

On the other South African minerals deemed essential by the White House, Jourdan used U.S. Bureau of Mines data to argue that:

• U.S. allies Australia and Zaire are already the main producers of **industrial diamonds**. Although a South African company, De Beers, dominates the world market, the U.S. can bypass the cartel and buy directly from producers.

• **Cobalt**, not a South African product, is listed only because the main producers, Zaire and Zambia, export via South Africa. If securing supplies were a top priority, Jourdan suggests, the U.S. would press the U.S.-backed Unita rebels to stop sabotaging Angola's Benguela railroad, the cheapest and most direct export route for Zambian and Zairian exports. Even with Benguela shut down, alternate rail lines from Zaire through Tanzania or Mozambique could carry the cobalt America needs for producing high-strength alloys.

• Similar transport issues explain the otherwise "baffling" inclusion of **chrysotile asbestos** on the list of ten. Canada supplies most of the chrysotile asbestos the U.S. buys, but the U.S. relies on landlocked Zimbabwe for a special grade used in missile manufacturing. Zimbabwe is already rapidly moving exports away from South African routes, and hopes to meet U.S. demand via Mozambique's Beira port.

• The world's main **antimony** producers, China and Bolivia, provide almost half of U.S. imports and could replace South Africa's 14% share.

• South Africa ranks a distant fourth among **manganese** suppliers. It is important only for ferromanganese, which the U.S. can produce by refining imported manganese metal in its own under-used smelters.

• As **rutile** is merely one of several ores bearing titanium, it should not have been singled out as "strategic." Canada and Australia are the main titanium producers, and their vast reserves can meet U.S. demands.

• The U.S. is the world's leading producer of kyanite, a perfect substitute for the **andalusite** now imported from South Africa for use in making bricks for high temperature blast furnaces.

• The U.S. produces most of its own **vanadium** and can replace South African exports, a scant 9% of U.S. consumption, from other sources.

- Steve Askin

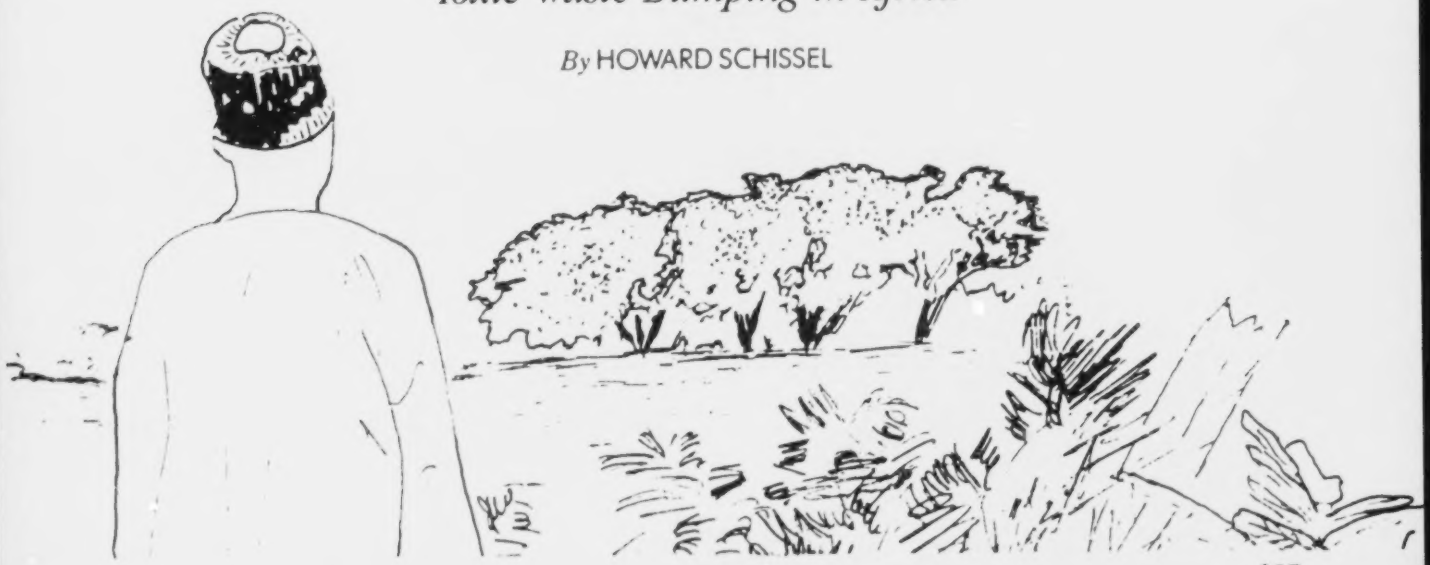
Article 9: "The Deadly Trade: Toxic Waste Dumping in Africa" by Howard Schissel, *Africa Report*, Sept.-Oct. 1988.

Shady international companies seeking to profit from the disposal of the industrialized world's waste have been taking advantage of loopholes in legislation and cupidity on the part of leadership to inflict a new plague on the African continent. Governmental vigilance and public awareness are required if a potentially deadly threat to Africa's fragile environment and ultimately to its peoples is to be averted.

THE DEADLY TRADE:

Toxic Waste Dumping in Africa

By HOWARD SCHISSEL



The dumping of toxic waste, industrial and pharmaceutical residues, and even deadly radioactive materials in Africa overshadowed all other issues in Lomé during the June conference of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas).

This issue—certain sources talk of a veritable scandal—emerged with shocking brutality in early 1988 as it was gradually discovered that Africa was becoming the prime hunting grounds for the shadowy world of waste disposal merchants, who generally use the euphemistic term, "international waste management industry," to cover up their malversations.

As it became clear that at least 10 African states had signed or were negotiating waste disposal contracts, another less altruistic aspect of North-South relations, rarely raised in international development fora, was brought sharply into focus in Lomé.

Ecowas leaders agreed to make it a criminal offense to facilitate the dumping of dangerous waste and urged the industrial countries to tighten controls on exporters of such products. Moreover, member-states were requested to take all necessary measures to stop dumping and promulgate legislative safeguards against such detrimental practices.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida went one step further by tabling a motion, rapidly approved by his peers, to establish a regional system known as "Dumpwatch," designed to monitor dumping activities. Such resolutions, however, might just turn out to be pious intentions because the potential pecuniary gains from waste dumping are a powerful temptation for many in the industrialized world and Africa.

In fact, President Mathieu Kérékou of Benin gave a detailed explanation in Lomé of his country's plans to import toxic waste, denying rumors that it was nuclear residues. This, however, did not dampen the outrage of neighboring Togo and Nigeria. Despite pronouncements from Benin officials that the contracts were frozen, there is yet to be an independent confirmation that the deal has been definitively torpedoed.

Waste disposal is a big and profitable business. Each year, the industrial world—the United States is tops in the

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league—produces hundreds of millions of tons of waste. The treatment of these waste materials, depending on their toxicity, can be an extremely expensive endeavor: It can range from some $200 a ton to around $1000. Extremely poisonous materials, like the polychlorobiphenyl (PCB) uncovered in Nigeria in June, can fetch as much as $3000 a ton.

Obviously, there are fortunes to be made by "enterprising" and unscrupulous businessmen who know how to take advantage of gray zones in international legislation and play up to the cupidity of certain officials. The waste disposal business is populated by discreet brokers and intermediaries, complaisant shipping firms, and sundry ghost companies registered in such places as the Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Liechtenstein and of course, Switzerland.

The industrialized countries are literally choking on their own garbage. Waste landfills in the United States have become difficult to carry out as environmental groups tend to keep close watch on such activities and local communities too have become sensitive to the issue.

In Europe and Japan, where space is so much more limited, it is practically impossible to bury toxic waste and local authorities often block projects to build waste incinerator units. Last year's odyssey of a garbage barge from New York City to various Caribbean and Latin American ports before being ignominiously returned to sender was a caricature of the waste disposal industry.

To the merchants of muck, the Third World appears an ideal spot to dump waste products. Many countries have vast tracts of unused land for such purposes. Public opinion in these countries is largely unaware of the dangers involved. Government authorities either turn an unconcerned blind eye or can be provided with sufficient incentives to keep these affairs under wraps. As one Common Market official remarked: "What we cannot dump safely in our own backyard we should not allow to be dumped unsafely in somebody else's." But financial considerations plead otherwise.

Toxic waste dumping in Africa has certainly been going on since the mid-1970s. Although information is sparse, it appears that the French were among the principal culprits, using their special relationship with francophone Africa as a means of disposing of unwanted waste materials. Occasionally, leaks filtered out about waste dumping in Africa: It was revealed in 1979, for example, that an American company, the Colorado-based Nedlog Technology Group Inc., had offered Sierra Leone $25 million to use its territory for waste disposal. Under mounting pressure, then-President Siaka Stevens was forced to backtrack on the deal.

In 1978, a nasty affair surfaced in Zimbabwe. Hazardous waste from American armed forces agencies was exported by the Colbert brothers—recently sentenced to prison for fraudulent business practices—to Zimbabwe under the false label of "cleaning fluids."

These incidents hardly blunted the offensive of waste disposal merchants in Africa. Since the summer of 1987, numerous contracts have been signed with African states. One of the main waste disposal networks is the nebulous Italo-Swiss Intercontract-Jelly Wax group, which initialled or tried to negotiate deals with Guinea-Bissau, Djibouti, and Senegal. Other prime movers are the Gibraltar-registered Sesco Ltd., the Liechtenstein-registered Bawerk, the New Jersey-based Waste Export Management Co., and Norway's Bulk Handling Inc.

In September 1987, Djibouti turned down 2,100 tons of chemical waste that was shipped from the Italian port of Carrara under Jelly Wax's aegis. The Italian Green Party warned that vessels loaded with toxic trash were leaving Italian ports in ever growing numbers. Few took heed, however, of this caveat. It was only when Intercontract signed a mega-waste disposal deal with Guinea-Bissau that the full dimensions of the waste trade in Africa started bubbling to the surface.

The Brussels-based lobbying group, Entente Européenne pour l'Environment (EEE), blew the whistle. Under the terms of the contract, Guinea-Bissau was to receive up to 500,000 tons of pharmaceutical and industrial waste from Switzerland at a price of $40 per ton. For impecunious Guinea-Bissau, the prospects of earning up to $20 million seemed like a windfall. But it was really Intercontract that would have been the big winner, because it would have cost the company up to $1000 to first incinerate and then recycle the waste in accordance with Common Market norms. Instead, the waste was to be dumped near the town of Farim in the northwestern part of the country close to the Senegalese border—and it is rumored on land belonging to a close relative of President Vieira.

The dump site is close to an EEC-funded fishing and agricultural project and threatened to pollute the entire region. According to a French source: "You could not have picked a worse spot than Farim because the soil is extremely porous and marshy and it rains a lot too, so the drums of waste would have quickly leaked with their contents seeping into the water table."

The uproar caused by these revelations forced the Guinean authorities to cancel the deal as well as a second, smaller arrangement with British and American waste disposal firms.

Down the coast in Guinea-Conakry, complaints that vegetation on the island of Kassa, just opposite the capital, Conakry, was turning brown and fetid fumes were making the air unbreatheable, provoked an official investigation. To general amazement, it was learned that 85,000 tons of incinerator ash from Philadelphia was dumped in abandoned mines on the island, after having been rejected by Panama and Haiti.

In a ploy similar to the one utilized in Zimbabwe, the waste was relabled as "road building materials" by the Norwegian company, Bulk Handling Inc., part of the Klaveness group that has various interests in the country. Its SIAG affiliate imported the "road building materials." The government of President Lansana Conté reacted swiftly and harshly by arresting Norway's honorary consul in Conakry, thereby forcing the Norwegians to re-embark the hazardous waste products.

Nigeria vociferously protested when details of a contract to dispose toxic waste in Benin were made public. Benin was reported to have signed a contract with the Gibraltar-registered Sesco Ltd. to take between 1 and 5 million tons of diverse waste a year, albeit non-nuclear. The dumping site was to be near the historical center of the Fon empire at Abomey, about 60 miles north of the capital, Cotonou. From a financial viewpoint,

Article 9 (cont'd.)

Benin got a raw deal, receiving under contract terms a mere $2.50 per ton.

Politically, the deal hit a raw nerve. Abomey has traditionally been the hotbed of dissent against the Benin supremo, so dumping the waste there could be the ultimate insult to the opposition. Protests arose and in March, army officers from Abomey were arrested and accused of plotting a coup. Of all the African states involved in the toxic waste trade, Benin undoubtedly has the most equivocal attitude.

It did not take long for Nigeria to be shocked by the news that toxic waste from Italy had been surreptitiously brought into the country for stockage at the port of Koko in Bendel state. The waste was shipped by the Livorno-based companies specially set up for the operation.

When the story broke in Italy, the Nigerian embassy in Rome did not even inform the federal government in Lagos of the scam. It was Nigerian students in Italy who phoned the Lagos daily, *The Guardian*, who triggered off a reaction by President Babangida's regime. It was discovered that the waste haphazardly stocked under the hot tropical sun was extremely deadly: Not only was there PCB, but also asbestos fiber and perhaps dioxine. During the summer, these drums of toxic products were shipped back to Italy.

Environmental experts reckon that if such a dangerous compound like PCB seeps into the water table, it would enter the food chain and be practically impossible to remove for many years. This would destroy the livelihood of thousands of fishermen and farmers and throw into jeopardy the health of tens of thousands of people.

Hence, when the London-based newsletter, *Africa Analysis*, disclosed that a British firm was to stock up to 10 million tons of assorted waste products on the tiny Equatorial Guinean island of Pagalu, some 280 miles off Libreville in the heart of the fish-rich Gulf of Guinea, alarm bells rang. The island is of volcanic origin and its soil is like a sponge. It is not hard to imagine that the effects of sun, rain, and salt water would cause leaks in the drums, with the waste materials soaking into the ground and eventually reaching the sea where strong currents would send it all over the West African coastline. This is a sure scenario for ecological disaster.

The color of money often seems to transcend political and ideological hues in Africa. Adverse publicity forced the self-styled Marxist government in Congo to scuttle plans to stock some 1 million tons of toxic waste in the country. The site ostensibly chosen was the Diosso gorge, near the Pointe Noire oil center. Congo was to receive $37 a ton from the Liechtenstein-registered firm Bauwerk to stock this West German and Benelux waste material. A second scheme with the New Jersey-based Waste Export Management Co. involved stocking 1 million tons of solvent and pesticides. The government axed the two deals, arresting officials accused of complicity in the arrangement.

Environmental protection activists in Europe feel that the cases of toxic waste dumping uncovered to date in Africa could just be the tip of the iceberg. The entire sorry saga sheds a harsh light on certain unspeakable international business practices, the criminally careless attitude of numerous Western companies only too glad to get rid of their own deadly muck, the loopholes in international legislation, and the incompetence, complicity, and cupidity of some administrations in newly independent African states.

Action must be rapidly taken to curb this trade in deadly toxic waste to Africa and other parts of the Third World. New international rules can at least establish guidelines on toxic waste trade. However, as in the illegal drug trade, the profits to be made are so gigantic that waste schemers will invariably manage to devise new ways and means of carrying out their deadly commerce.

Western countries must rapidly tighten up their own legislation on toxic waste exports. France, for its part, did so early in the summer. Above all, African states themselves must put bite into their bark in such a way that the continent rapidly loses its appeal as a waste haven. The vigilance of fledgling public opinion in Africa is essential too in the preservation of the continent's environment and maintaining pressure on governments so that the waste merchants and their accomplices are kept at bay. ○

Session 4/Issue: Food and Hunger

Facts About Food and Hunger in the United States

Over the past decade, malnutrition and hunger have become growing problems in the United States. Contributing factors are the growing number of people suffering from poverty, unequal distribution of wealth, homelessness, unemployment, and emergency food needs. These factors call to question a community's ability to provide adequate food supply for its inhabitants. At the same time, agribusiness has flourished, taking its toll in the ruin of many small-scale farming enterprises.

The following provides evidence of the current trends relating to hunger in the United States:

- The wealthiest 10% of people in the U.S. own 83.2% of the nation's wealth (Census Bureau).
- 35 million U.S. citizens were poor in 1988, roughly one in every seven people. 12.8 million or 39.4 percent of all poor people in 1987 had incomes below half of the poverty line (Census Bureau).
- Minority poverty is on the rise: the proportion of poor white Americans dropped from 11 percent in 1986 (22.2 million) to 10.5 percent last year (21.4 million). The proportion of poor black families rose from 31.1 percent (8.98 million) to 33.1 percent (9.68 million). The 1987 median income for white families was $32,374 against $18,098 for black families. Poverty among blacks more than three times as common. A similar trend exists among Hispanics (Census Bureau).
- In the past six years there has been an ever-increasing demand for emergency food. Almost 20% of emergency food needs go unmet in the 25 major U.S. cities (Project Bread Hunger Hotline).
- Hunger now persists in the areas where production is highest (see Larry Brown and H.F. Pizer: "Hunger in the Heartland" on pages 116-118).
- At the same time, Second Harvest, a national clearinghouse that distributes food, claims as much as 140 million tons of edible food a year never reach anyone's table.
- In 1985, the National Physicians' Task Force on Hunger in America estimated that 1 of 12 people go hungry for some period of time each month (Project Bread Hunger Hotline).
- Federal food assistance programs are serving fewer people. The number of poor people increased by 4 million between 1980 and 1985. The number of food stamp recipients, however, remained the same through those years and declined in 1986 (Project Bread Hunger Hotline).
- A U.S. Department of Agriculture survey found that only 12% of low-income households are able to afford their full recommended daily nutritional allowances, even with maximum Food Stamp allotments.
- One of every three acres of American farmland grows crops for export. (Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs).

Facts About Food and Hunger in Africa

While massive famine situations are frequently the result of environmental conditions (droughts, locusts) and man-made conditions (war), chronic hunger and malnutrition in Africa can also be attributed to Africa's international debt, unequal distribution of wealth, exploitation of the small farmer, neglect of women's roles as primary food producers, and growing export crop agribusiness. Consider these facts:

- While average per capita annual income in Africa is $769, this figure is much lower for farmers.
- On the average, Africans consume 2,230 calories/day (at least 1,250 calories less than people in the U.S. (Sivard: World Military and Social Expenditures)
- To pay off debts with foreign exchange, many African nations use their best farmlands to produce export crops such as cacao (for chocolate), coffee, tea, pineapples, peanuts, and cotton. This is often done at the expense of African farmers being able to grow crops for their own consumption, and has led to staggering malnutrition rates and dependence on food assistance in regions that have previously been self-sufficient.
- During the 1980s prices for Africa's agricultural exports have fallen by 25 percent.
- Agribusiness interests operational in Africa are often the same as those who have taken over agricultural production in the U.S. (see the following list of companies).

Agribusiness in Africa: Some Key U.S. Companies

Abbott Laboratories (Kenya, South Africa, Zaire, Zambia)

Allis Chalmers Corp. (South Africa)

American Cyanamid Co. (Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa)

Arbor Acres Farm, Inc. (Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe)

Borden, Inc. (South Africa)

Colgate-Palmolive (Algeria, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Morocco, South Africa, Zambia)

C.P.C. International, Inc. (Kenya, Morocco)

Deere & Co. (South Africa)

Dibrell Bros., Inc. (Zimbabwe)

Dow Chemicals Co. (Ivory Coast, Liberia, Morocco)

FMC Corp. (Cameroon)

H.J. Heinz & Co. (Ghana, Zimbabwe)

International Minerals & Chemicals (Zimbabwe)

Kellog Co. (South Africa)

King Ranch (Morocco)

Monsanto Co. (Kenya)

RJR Nabisco (South Africa)

Pfizer, Inc. (Angola, Ghana, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe)

Procter and Gamble Co. (Morocco)

Standard Commercial Tobacco Co., Inc. (Malawi)

Union Carbide Corp. (Algeria, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe)

Universal Leaf Tobacco Co. (Zimbabwe)

Upjohn Co. (Zaire)

U.S. Wheat Associates (Morocco)

Source: *Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries.* (Major libraries have business reports you can consult for up-dates on activities of these companies)

Ideas for Local Inquiry: Food and Hunger

- Who suffers from hunger in your area? What population is most affected by hunger (ethnic groups, women, children)?
- Who provides food emergency relief (organizations, government offices, churches)?
- How is access to food assistance limited? Is the current program efficient? How is food relief delivered? How does this compare to food relief in Africa?
- Is there any organization that redistributes leftover food from supermarkets and restaurants? Is there a Meals on Wheels program?
- How are relief recipients portrayed in the local press? Are there any similarities with media coverage on hunger victims in Africa?
- What agribusinesses operate in your area? Are any of them the same as those listed for Africa?
- What policies do these businesses pursue? Have they displaced family farms in your area? Are there government subsidies for farmers? Can malnutrition in your area be connected to these agricultural policies?
- Do the issues raised by the article "Hunger in the Heartland" on pages 116-118 hold true for your area?
- What kind of local subsistence food production is there? Are there any gardening or food cooperatives? How do they function?

Through this inquiry, what conclusions can you make:

1) concerning specific problem areas relating to hunger in your community?

2) concerning connections between your community and Africa on hunger and agriculture?

3) What kind of action in response to this issue would you recommend and participate in?

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Recommended Videos:

With These Hands (33 minutes) and *Man-Made Famine* (50 minutes)

Lack of support for Africa's women farmers represent a major cause of food shortages. Three women from Burkina Faso, Kenya, and Zimbabwe tell their stories, exploring the problem with some possible solutions. The longer version of this video is especially recommended for audiences interested in issues pertaining to the lives of African women and their families.

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

The Politics of Food: The Food Machine (20 minutes) and *The Avoidable Famine* (20 minutes)

An introduction to the global effects of agribusiness and the causes and effects of the farm crisis in the United States and the Sudan. In the Sudan the changes in farming methods have affected both the economy and the society.

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Consuming Hunger (a series of three 29-minute videos)

These three videos look at questions concerning attitudes among the affluent towards hunger and famine:

Getting the Story: Why did it take so long for Western Television to cover the famine in Ethiopia?

Shaping the Image: What happened to the images of starving Africans once they became part of our television culture?

Selling the Feeling: What did Hands Across America megaevent tell us about hunger in America and how were the images of our own homeless and hungry used?

Available from UUSC Citizen Action Department, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 7422120; or from the Maryknoll World Video Library, Maryknoll, NY 10545, (914) 9417590.

Overview of the Readings for Session 4/Issue: Food and Hunger

To many Americans, the word Africa is synonymous with famine. The media have led us to believe that famine is the status quo of the African continent, that there will always be hunger there. Africa is often depicted as a dry and barren place, unable to support its population. In actuality, the famines of Africa are not caused by inhospitable conditions alone. They are the product of many interwoven, often man-made causes.

"Hunger in the Heartland" (article 1), challenges the myth of equating Africa with hunger, when hunger exists here at home in the U.S., even in the breadbasket of America. Our responsibility is to look beyond a simplistic definition of famine as not enough food, and explore some of its man-made root causes, its effects, and alternatives to avoiding massive hunger in the future.

"A Quiet Hunger" (article 2), the personal reaction of a Western visitor in Burkina Faso (West Africa) to the hunger he witnessed during his stay, serves as an introduction to this complex issue, by exposing the exploitation of the famine victim by the media, and the string of events that can lead to hunger and starvation on a continent that basically has the means to feed itself.

A major factor in the development of famine conditions is war. In this situation, food frequently becomes a weapon to coerce the hungry. Whereas Western donors may view the provision of food-aid as a politically neutral issue, evidence of its unequal allocation and the dependency it has created show that it too, becomes a tool of war and conflict. Peter Davies, in article 3, urges readers to wake up to the reality of the civil war in Sudan, where all too easily international assistance and food relief agencies become entangled in playing into the hands of one or the other of the warring parties. Instead, attention should focus on promoting peace. 50 U.S. voluntary humanitarian and development agencies, as the Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa, are calling on the U.S. government to end the supply of arms to the region.

Article 4 shows the connection between famine and conflict areas and the response of the United States government and the United Nations. The article mentions the leadership of Rep. Mickey Leland, killed in an aircraft accident during a recent fact-finding trip between Ethiopia and the Sudan. Famine and war put at risk a population group labeled "refugees", perhaps the people most susceptible to famine and dependant on food aid. They also stand to gain the most from peace and self-sufficiency. According to UNHCR reports, present refugee populations on the African continent may reach as many as 10 million. African refugees, the product of national conflicts, live in every section of the continent.

Cash cropping, the practice of growing products to be sold rather than for local consumption, is another contributing factor in the perpetuation of famine. A legacy of colonialism in Africa, cash cropping was once heralded as an innovative ally of progress. But cash crops grown for export, such as coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco, do not directly benefit small farmers and often harm them. Land given to cash cropping cannot be used for subsistence farming and the labor needed for these farms is labor taken from the home plots. The need for cash often draws men from their homes and leaves women with almost all of the food producing responsibility. Entire regions of Kenya's fertile Rift Valley are now devoted to coffee and tea production for export to help meet the nation's debt payments. As a result, these regions no longer produce enough food products to support the laboring populations. Article 5 is a brief exploration of the cyclical nature of development and cash crop problems.

The remainder of the section concentrates on moving beyond famine. Article 6 is a fact sheet describing the FEWS, Famine Early Warning System. This system is an on-going project designed to identify conditions that could lead to famine before they become critical. FEWS researchers have compiled information on environmental conditions and production in eight African countries; these data are used by U.S. researchers, African government officials, and other research institutions to determine what action is needed to avert a famine situation.

Government planners within countries must begin by supporting the farmers. Adequate food production is key to national self sufficiency. And yet the "greening of Africa" still remains elusive. Agricultural policy makers are only beginning to realize that schemes designed in the industrialized world are not applicable to Africa, whereas schemes based on traditional African practices often are. J.D.H. Lambert (article 7) proposes a new approach to agricultural development — one that begins by considering the people as the primary resource. An example of Lambert's approach is described in article 8, which documents a project in Mali aimed at creating an information network by linking farmers with scientists and researchers.

Women's role in African society is mentioned in many readings in this publication; recognition of their importance as food producers is crucial to the population's survival. At least 80 percent of the food grown in Africa is pruced by African women. Until recently, agricultural policy makers did not recognize women as food producers. Article 9, "Empowering Africa's Farmers," discusses the history of development projects aimed at men rather then women. Projects that instruct men in agriculture cannot be expected to improve subsistence output if men are not the primary food producers.

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Article 1: "Hunger in the Heartland" by Dr. J. Larry Brown and H.F. Pizer, *Seeds*.

Hunger in the Heartland

Even in the breadbasket of America, empty baskets wait for food.

By Larry Brown and H.F. Pizer

Dr. Larry Brown, of the the Harvard Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, led a team of dozens of physicians which crisscrossed the country to study the problem of hunger. The last segment of the trip was in the Midwest.

There is a special irony in the presence of hunger in the breadbasket of our nation. The crops spring so abundantly from the fertile land that millions of tons of grain are stored at government expense, and the farms of the heartland produce millions of surplus dairy products even as the federal government institutes a program in which dairy farmers must slaughter their cows to curtail excess production. Yet within the very shadow of this vast productive system Americans, some the families who once worked the land, go hungry.

Illinois and Missouri were the final stops on our 14-state itinerary. While we were impatient to be finished with the work we had begun nearly two years before, we knew it was essential to see the face of hunger in the Midwest. For most of us it was inconceivable that there could be hunger in America's model rural hamlets and towns, places synonymous with wholesome values and secure, middle-class living.

How it Plays in Peoria

Our destination was Peoria, a community that has always heralded itself as the All-American City. Located in the middle of Illinois, it lacks a seaport or major riverway that in earlier times might have formed the crossroads for commerce. Today, Peoria is surrounded by fields of corn and grain, seemingly endless acres planted by solid Midwestern families. Dotting the horizon are church steeples and silos that mark the tallest structures, reminding the traveler of the institutions that bind the people.

> We hear rumors of economic recovery...that's not happening in Peoria.

Our first stop was the Peoria Salvation Army, where two young Midwesterners, John Colgan and John Arnold, briefed us on the unemployment situation. "At one time anyone who wanted a job could get one. But now thousands of breadwinners have been laid off and can't even find work at minimum wage. They've been laid off at the Caterpillar, Hiram Walker and Pabst plants." In nearby Canton, they said, International Harvester had shut down completely, and coal mining had been dramatically cut back. Many people had given up and dropped out of the work force, no longer counted as unemployed.

"We hear rumors of economic recovery," Arnold said, "but I can assure you that's not happening in Peoria."

Marjorie LaFont, a nurse with the Food and Nutrition Service, told of making home visits to some of the 50,000 needy families in the area. "When I started back in 1972 we had to hunt to find hungry families. Today, we are overwhelmed. Taxpayers who worked to support assistance programs are now in line asking for help.

"I've seen malnourished children," LaFont went on, "whose conditions went unnoticed because their parents didn't have the money to take them to the doctor. About 1,500 children weren't allowed to start school last year because they didn't have the required school physical. The parents didn't have the money to spend on the doctor's visit. The teachers say they have hungry children in their classrooms all the time."

We left to see the children she described. At the home of Dorothy Davis, we met a grandmother raising the four children of her deceased daughter. Disabled and in failing health, Mrs. Davis was valiantly trying to support the four boys on a monthly income of less than $400 in public assistance and food stamps.

"My grandsons try to work some after school," she began proudly, "but it's not really much. With so much unemployment here it's hard for them to get work. The jobs are taken by men with families. Several days each month we are down to bread and water."

At the next house a mother told us candidly, "The last four years have been hell. I can't keep my eight-year-old daughter fed. I try hard to ration my food stamps but they just don't last."

The early October evening was warm as people came to the church hall for our public hearing. Women wore sundresses and the men sported short-sleeved shirts. The style of their dress and the twang of their voices reminded us of our location in the heart of the Midwest.

First to testify was a woman who seemed to epitomize recent changes in the area. "I'm the daughter of farmers. I left the farm and came to the city 11 years ago to work at Caterpillar. A lot of people did that and were fine until a few years ago when we started losing jobs around here. Now, we're losing our homes. Some

Article 1 (cont'd.)

of my friends are losing hope. Sometimes I wonder, 'Where is all the Christianity I grew up learning about? Where is all the wholesomeness I used to hear about?'"

In the Midwest the women often do most of the talking. In public forums the men slink back, shy and inarticulate, as though it is unmanly to reveal one's woes. Bill Davis broke the string of women speakers.

"I'm one of the 'new poor,'" he admitted. "I have six children. Both me and my wife worked for years until our plant closed. We take cold showers because the hot water heater broke and we don't have the money to buy another one. The roof leaks when it rains. We worry that the children don't get enough to eat." As he sat down, his body language said, "No time for questions, I just wanted to tell someone what we've been going through."

The rolls at a local food pantry, we learned, were up more than 300 percent in three years. People told us that the pattern was similar for all the food pantries in the area.

The hungry in Peoria have a veneer of comfort: their clothes are not tattered, their homes look well-kept, most families still have a car. The appearances just do not match the reality.

Missouri, the Show Me State

Our launching point in Missouri was Caruthersville, a town of 9,000 in the "Bootheel," named for the part of the state that protrudes into neighboring Arkansas. It is a rich and fertile plain whose main crops are soybeans, cotton and rice. At the time of our visit, however, declining farm prices had devastated the already weak local economy and the region was suffering some of the worst poverty in the nation.

We became aware of the lingering history of racism in the area as we stopped along the street to speak with residents of a black community. In a limousine, circling the block, was the white owner of the shacks housing local black families. He had come to see what the "strangers" were doing in town.

In the nearby hamlet of Hayti, the health center director described how their slots for the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program had been cut back, forcing them to drop some of the high-risk children. To offset the impact of budget cuts, the center had opened an emergency food distribution program. Although clearly still an unorthodox practice, by now it was not uncommon to hear of health facilities taking up the task of giving out food. "No one else around here is doing it," the director continued. "We're just about out of resources, but we're doing the best we can."

Meanwhile, Gordon Harper, a Harvard psychiatrist, had taken another team to Washington County, one of the poorest in the nation. The lead and barite mines are shut down; unemployment is very high.

Prior to our visit, Catholic workers in Washington County had reported that hunger was a very serious problem, and our doctors wished to see for themselves. Traveling with priests from St. Joachim's Church, they walked down dirt roads and hopped across streams to visit homes. They found living conditions reminiscent of Appalachia: families living in rusty trailers off to the side of small clearings, scrawny dogs running alongside children who hauled water in empty lard cans.

The Eckhoff family, seven children, wife and husband, lived in one of those small trailers. Next door sat another trailer, rusted out, and slowly being cannibalized for firewood and building materials. Insulation and wiring could be seen through holes in the walls. Inside the Eckhoff's small living area was a lightweight wood stove that had cost about $60 and was not expected to last another winter.

Lillian Eckhoff pointed to the three-year-old and said, "She's the sickly un'. If she ain't got a cold she's got diarrhea."

Mr. Eckhoff had been disabled in a mining accident years before and was now unable to work. Despite his disability, he was ineligible for SSI, and the family was living primarily on food stamps. "About all we can get with them is milk and hash."

The next morning we had no time to check in at our hotel, so, luggage in hand, we dashed into three taxis and headed for our first appointment of the day—in a St. Louis slum. We stopped at the Darst-Webbe Housing Project, a series of red brick buildings that looks like any other large housing project built in the 1950s. Huge green garbage bins fenced off the asphalt streets and sidewalks. Our destination was the Catholic Guardian Angel Center, operating out of one end of the project. When they first opened the Center the volunteers passed out free bread every day. Soon there were too many mouths to feed, so they started a food pantry.

Evelyn Webb, who administers the program, told us that area residents, many of whom are poor themselves, donate tinned goods and other items for the hungry. "Some people donate water because they have little else to give," she said. "There are people in nearby houses who have no utilities, no food." Webb paused to ponder the implications of her next point. "Things keep getting worse. We just had to put more locks on the garbage bins so the mothers and children couldn't raid the receptacles at night. We didn't want them getting sick on rotted food."

At Notre Dame Parish we spoke with church workers who had begun a food pantry. "We started seeing so many families new to poverty and hunger that we had to do something," one of the priests explained. "The General Motors plant laid off many employees, a number of them even lost their homes."

Beulah Campbell, the full-blooded Cherokee woman who operates the facility, confirmed the priest's words. "Everyone comes here: women, children, the elderly. We doubled the number of people we served in the first year. There's a sense of hopelessness. No matter what people do, the pit gets deeper. If a family makes an extra 10 or 15

Article 1 (cont'd.)

dollars a month, the government deducts it from their assistance. It's discouraging, you know." At St. Patrick's Center one of the nuns spoke eloquently about the sense of discouragement that hits people who cannot find work. "The unemployed who come in every day to look at job listings find that the labor pool for the day fills up quickly. The people left are a residue of willing bodies and discouraged spirits."

Off in the reception area sat several men, each hoping the telephone would ring to offer a job. Sixty-year-old Mr. Griffith sat silently, until I placed myself next to him and opened up the conversation.

"What do you do, sir?" I began.

"I'm in the engineering business. Well, I mean I graduated with a Master's in Engineering from Tulane about 20 years ago." He had run a chain of convenience stores for the last eighteen years. The chain went out of business; bankruptcy wiped out his pension, and Griffith had nothing to show for his years of work.

At the Salvation Army Children's Center the staff said that feeding problems "are prominent among children who come here. About half of them are below the fifth percentile for their size. Some seem to take no pleasure from eating and avoid eye contact while they eat, others eat voraciously. Many come here in the winter because their homes lack heat as well as food."

A St. Louis County social worker said that children are being referred for foster care because the parents can't provide enough food. In the winter this can mean 25 to 30 additional placements a month. "One family we have here," the social worker said, "just had their kids taken away because they had no food. The parents came to the shelter for help. It took us a month to get the kids back. The father is a master chef who worked for 25 years."

We ended our visit to St. Louis with a public hearing at the Soldier's Memorial. It was with some relief that we prepared for the event. Although we were tired and felt we had seen enough, we had grown fond of the exhausting work and the people we had met.

> We had to put locks on the garbage bins so the mothers and children couldn't raid them at night.

First to speak was Edie Mae Binyoun, a middle-aged woman who announced that she had a Ph.D. in poverty. "I earned it over the last twenty years. P is for poverty. H is for hell and hunger. D is for determination. I'm a mother of three, one child is epileptic. I have high blood pressure, and I've had a stroke. Life hasn't been easy for me or my children, but each day I hope that it will improve."

Reverend Larry Rice pointed to the irony in holding a hunger hearing at a memorial to the war dead. "We spend money on weapons while the real 'soldiers' die in the streets of this city...Our church gives frozen food away to keep it from spoiling. I've seen people tear it open on the sidewalk and eat it frozen. They couldn't wait until they got it home."

Our work was concluded. It was not difficult to find substantial hunger. One could see it in the homes of poor neighborhoods, in inner-city health centers, in shelters for the homeless and, of course, at the soup kitchens. We had seen children who were not growing and had talked with unemployed parents who worried about their inability to feed their babies. We had found elderly people living on rice or beans, and for periods of time, on nothing at all.

As I headed off to the airport, someone handed me a document that I stuffed into my briefcase. Opening it later on the plane, I saw it was a report on hunger in the small city of Warrensberg, just outside Kansas City. The study had been conducted by a professor at Central Missouri State University, and the commentary at the end of the paper caught my eye:

"As we sit above the caves filled with government stored food, and as we shudder at the nuclear warheads implanted in our fields, we are faced with the travesty that even in the Breadbasket of America there are empty baskets waiting for food."

Excerpted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Co. from Living Hungry in America *by Dr. J. Larry Brown and H.F. Pizer. Copyright, 1987 by J. Larry Brown, Ph.D. and H.F. Pizer, P.A.C. Brown is on the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health and chair of the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America and a Seeds contributing editor. Pizer is a physician's assistant and the author of two books.*

Article 2: "A Quiet Hunger" by Chris Brazier, *The New Internationalist*, Sept. 1985,.

A quiet hunger

Photo: Sara Errington/Camera Press

Shipping bags of grain when disaster strikes is necessary, but it never solves the problem. Chris Brazier visits an African village to discover a quiet hunger that will last long after the dust of the latest emergency has settled – and suggests some ways to assuage it.

THE widow leant back against the mud wall of her compound and gestured at the bowl of baobab leaves in front of her. 'Since our millet ran out,' she said, 'we've been living on those.' Suddenly the tranquillity of the scene, so striking after the flurry of activity in the other family compounds, took on a sinister aspect, as if it were haunted by the ghosts of her hunger.

Her face still looked young. But she was too resigned, or perhaps too poor, to wear the headscarf that the other village women favoured, and the child that pulled at her breast was listless. 'I work the land alone but for my eldest son. He's a good boy but we can't do enough on our own, and the lack of food makes us weak. Sometimes I gather wood and sell it to buy a little millet. And I ask other people to help my children with their grain. But what kind of life is that? If only we had millet I would be calm.'

The widow lives in a village that has never yet experienced famine. Lying in the south-east of Burkina Faso – a good two hundred miles away from the famine regions of the Sahel – it will probably never hit our headlines. Yet there are few people in it who feel free of the fear of hunger, of worry about the grain dwindling in the family store. And their daily grappling with those worries shook me far more deeply than any of those distressing pictures from Ethiopia and Sudan. Because, for all their power, those television images of hollowed faces and emaciated limbs are like bulletins from another planet. It's hard to sense them as real people, feeling just as we would feel in the same situation. Instead they're passive victims in a medieval canvas, as a camera operator frames them on the edge of death. Sandwiched between *Cheers* and the sports highlights, how can we be expected to get a full sense of their humanity?

But there, in the village, I made friends – even though I was there myself as part of a team filming for television. I laughed with people, asked about their lives and told them what I could of my own. They asked about my 'village' – who worked in my fields if I spent all my time writing, and how did I manage to eat if I didn't have any land? I cuddled their children and watched their faces. And then I went back to my hut to realise that, while I could just fly away from this dusty land, for Mariama and Hassita there was no escape. They were left with that gnawing worry about next month's meals, about the millet shrinking in the granary and the rains that were six weeks late.

Once I had flown back to the Western whirligig of consumption and comfort, there was one question that people always asked me first: 'but what did you eat?' It's a common-sense query: if food is short, then how do all the aid workers and the journalists get by?

The answer, of course, is that there was plenty of food in Burkina Faso, just as there is in Ethiopia – if you have the money to pay for it. Just three miles away from the village I stayed in was a town where there were not only grain and vegetables on sale, but meat, too, French bread, and Western tinned food. It is poverty that starves people to death or stupefaction: not a callous whim of nature.

This idea that nature causes famines has great intuitive power – it appeals to our sense of drama and myth, this blight on the land beyond all human control. But droughts and floods only kill the poor, only tip over the people who have already been pushed to the brink.

Hunger is not a one-act drama. It is a war of attrition that wears people down over the years, a war of which we witness only the final battle. To an Asian it might mean selling a little more land each year to pay off debts to the village moneylender. To a Latin American it might mean coaxing life from marginal soil that becomes more degraded with every planting. To an African it might mean the gap between the last harvest and the next becoming wider every year.

And the stars of this drama are not only the victims shaking their fists at the unrelenting heavens. There is the local entrepreneur who buys up grain at harvest time and then sells it back at an inflated price to the same farmers when their food runs short. There is the government which puts all its energy into export crops for the West, which sees development as a matter of prestige, building dams and cathedrals in the desert instead of mills and wells for the villages. There are the aid agencies and international organisations which ignore women. There are the politicians with no commitment to social justice. There are the Western banks and the

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Article 2 (cont'.)

International Monetary Fund, which force developing countries to act as laboratories for monetarist experiments so extreme that even Reagan and Thatcher would never dare inflict them on their own countries. There are the superpowers which peddle their arms and then use conflict in the poor world as part of their global chess match. And, ultimately, there is you and me for allowing this unholy machine to continue crunching on.

Recognising that the world food problem is not just caused by lack of rain may make it harder to understand. But it ought also to bring some hope. Because it means there is something we can do about it.

World leaders are not going to wake up tomorrow converted to the cause of social justice, nor will global accountants suddenly see that the welfare programmes and food subsidies which seem like frills to them can be life and death to a woman like the widow. And the solution to world hunger depends very largely on the progress we make in our own societies in pursuit of justice and equality.

'But what has social justice got to do with it?' you might ask. 'Doesn't the solution lie in agriculture?' Some people certainly claim that it does! The World Bank's answer, for instance, is for the Third World to grow more crops for export to the West and thus earn the foreign exchange to buy development as well as food. But it doesn't take an economic genius to see that if poor countries grow more cotton or coffee they will be competing against each other for the same customers – the more they produce, the faster prices will fall.

Another answer we are often offered is that scientific progress in agriculture will enable us to grow more food for the hungry. This is a compelling idea – and not just because we all have some residual faith in technology as a cure-all. When I was a child, India was the symbol of hunger in much the same way as Ethiopia is now. My grandmother conjured up starving Indians in the corner of the room to spur me into eating the food on my plate. Yet today high-yield strains of rice, developed in laboratories, together with the intensive use of irrigation and fertiliser, have meant that India produces enough in theory to feed all its people.

A miracle of science it may be, but it hasn't eradicated hunger – the poor still suffer from malnutrition all over India, while their government sells grain to Russia. Even the latest official figures show that Indians receive on average only 93 per cent of the calories they need. And, since there are millions of people there who eat very well, that figure is a confession that there are many millions more who are severely under-nourished.

So growing more food does not, in itself, end hunger. And, as if to back that up, recent studies indicate that the diseases of poverty – such as diarrhoea and dysentery – contribute even more to malnutrition than the lack of food, particularly in children. What has to go in tandem with growing more food is a commitment to sharing out what food there is much more fairly.

When my mother and father were children they too were urged to eat the rest of their meals. But the spectre called up in front of *them* was China, which had suffered famines caused by drought and flood at a rate of more than one a year for centuries. But the Communists made feeding their vast population the top priority after the Revolution. They learned to live with their climate by using flood water to irrigate the droughts, and they made food a basic human right instead of an act of commerce. The result is that, whatever you might think of its social system as a whole, China now feeds 22 per cent of the world's population on just seven per cent of the world's land.

Changing their priorities at home is one thing, but developing countries also have, for once, something to bargain with in the world at large. The debts they have incurred are now so large that, ironically, the Western financial system actually depends on them. The threat of default thus gives at least some developing countries a power that they have never had before: some genuine leverage on the global economic system. And although Fidel Castro's campaign for all Third World debtors to default is unlikely to succeed, he is certainly right that the Latin American nations who owe the most have to stand together – and stand together, too, on behalf of Africa, whose debts are not huge enough to give them the same power, but whose repayments are just as crippling.

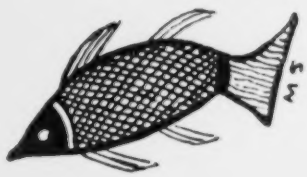
Third World governments, then, have their part to play. But where do you and I fit in? For a start we can eat less meat. I originally became a vegetarian seven years ago because I realised that pumping grain into cattle was a grotesquely inefficient way of using the planet's food resources: an average of 16 kilos of grain and beans, for instance, are fed to cattle to produce just one kilo of beef. And I still see refusing meat as an act of protest, a conscientious objection to a system with waste at one end and starvation at the other. As much as 40 per cent of the world's grain is fed to livestock, as well as 40-50 per cent of its fish and 25-40 per cent of its dairy produce. And crops in Latin America still go to cattle destined for the meat-heavy diets of the US – rather than to the local poor who need it so badly.

Vegetarianism is not in itself a solution. But it does at least provide an opportunity to talk to people about the food issue, to raise their awareness of the problem. And those opportunities crop up all too rarely in the years when there isn't an Ethiopia or a Biafra in the headlines.

In fact raising people's awareness may be the most vital thing we can do. There is a fund of good will out there at the moment just waiting to be tapped – the Live Aid phenomenon has at least given people the sense that they have a part to play. But at the moment it tends to stop at the idea of emergency food aid, which barely papers over the cracks in the system – just as Victorian mill-owners used to set up charities to alleviate the misery that they'd caused in the first place.

Bob Geldof has enough spirit to rail at governments for their refusal to take the famine seriously. And he could fuel his anger by looking at the graphs on Page 10 which show that the West gives food aid not when it is most needed, but when that food can't be sold for a high price on the world market. To his credit, too, he has begun to see the need for long-term development aid. But if only he and that vast audience behind him could take things just a little further, could recognise that it is the governments we vote in, the economics we condone, the lifestyles we lead, which ultimately produce hunger.

Back in the village the rains have come at last. They are weeding the fields now, scraping carefully around each millet seedling as it struggles upwards into the light. Watching last year's grain disappear. Waiting for the world to wake up.



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Article 3: "Paradox of Humanitarian Assistance," by Peter J. Davies, *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 9, 1988.

Paradox of Humanitarian Assistance

When Food Is a Weapon, Those in Need Will Starve

By PETER J. DAVIES

A moral question: How can children, women and men be allowed to starve, as in the Sudan today, when food is available in the country and there is no drought? The answer is sovereignty. Food is being used as a weapon by both sides in a devastating civil war.

Photographs of emaciated people lead many to conclude that the cause of death-dealing hunger is a lack of food. The real culprit is the warfare raging between the government of the Sudan and the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the southern region over political, economic, cultural and especially religious differences.

The relief agencies—especially American, French, British, Irish, Canadian and Scandinavian—have known for months that the situation was desperate and that thousands of children were dying. They have been pressing the Sudanese authorities and the SPLA to allow them to get food, medicines and shelter to the displaced who are fleeing the war zone. In fact, as far back as October, 1986, the U.S. State Department wrote a group of American church-based relief agencies: "As soon as security permits, we are willing to cooperate with all neutral, competent relief organizations that can ensure our aid will not be used to support combatants."

I have just returned from the Sudan, where I met with Sudanese and international relief-agency representatives. The answer to my questions was always the same. The Sudan government and the SPLA will not let us distribute food in their areas, ostensibly for security reasons. "We cannot guarantee your safety," they say.

Only after thousands died and Sudanese officials, along with U.N. and U.S. government teams, visited the border towns did relief agencies receive permission to ship limited supplies of food and medicines to the starving. Estimates are that as many as 100,000, mostly children below 5 years old, have already died.

What, then, are the constraints on the United Nations, the U.S. and other governments and the private voluntary-relief agencies that inhibit them from taking the necessary steps, in concert with Sudanese authorities, to prevent this tragedy?

The roots of the conflict go deep. Since a 17-year civil war, which ended in 1972, was reignited in 1983, tens of thousands of southern Sudanese have been killed, more than half of the southern population displaced. Major human-rights abuses by both sides have taken their toll. More than a million people are at risk of starvation.

The tragedy illustrates the paradox of much of today's humanitarian assistance—whether in the southern Sudan, northern Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan or Mozambique. Conflicts that produce suffering isolate those in need from those rendering assistance. Withholding food or channeling it to those considered friends have become strategies in the conflicts themselves. When humanitarian imperatives are compromised by political considerations, the human consequences are staggering. Each side claims that food will benefit the other's soldiers rather than civilians.

Furthermore, as in other conflict settings, providing aid in the Sudan has become risky, with losses of personnel, supplies and vehicles. Private agencies, which seek to provide aid without political, geographical, religious or other bias—that is, to be impartial—are experiencing difficulty in gaining access to the hungry on one or both sides.

Most needed today is an end to the destructive war. Without peace, the reconstruction—not to say development—of the southern Sudan will remain an impossible dream. The Horn of Africa may be where, among all the world's conflict settings, the most people starve.

With a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War in place, the time is ripe to focus on the Horn of Africa. We must encourage and build on the Sudanese government and SPLA leaders' efforts, as fragile as they are, to meet. (A meeting between Prime Minister Sadek Mahdi and John Garang, the rebel army's leader, scheduled to take place in Uganda, has again been postponed.)

While the lives of people will not be secure until the warfare ceases, there is a desperate need in the interim for stepped-up aid. (The U.S. government commitment of $1.5 million is welcome, though modest.) And voluntary agencies are attempting to get food and medicine to the starving despite enormous obstacles imposed by local officials.

A number of private U.S. agencies—many of them members of InterAction, a coalition of private U.S. voluntary humanitarian and development agencies—are exploring how to provide additional assistance even before the conflict ends. About 50 groups have formed the Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa, which is calling on the U.S. government to end the supply of arms to the region, promote a cease-fire in the Sudan and assist civilians caught in the cross-fire.

Action on many fronts will be needed before starvation is halted. The moral challenge to the international community is to help bring the violence to an end and assist in the reconstruction and development of a region that has known more than its share of tragedy. The terrible suffering of innocent children, women and men must stop. Let us not rest until the challenge has been met.

Peter J. Davies is the president and chief executive officer of InterAction.

KAL, The Economist, London

Article 4: "The Seeds of War." *Africa News*, Oct. 19, 1988.

The Seeds of War

Farmers in Angola's Bie province don't plant corn in the fields anymore. It grows against the houses because the fields are too dangerous. Rebels affiliated with Jonas Savimbi's U.S.-backed UNITA movement are planting as well – they bury mines on the footpaths that line the rows of corn.

"As a result," Dr. Peggy Dulany told the House Select Committee on Hunger this month, "this fertile country . . . is lying largely fallow and there [is] hunger in this rich province . . . which used to be known as the breadbasket of Angola." Nor can food be easily delivered to the estimated one million people facing starvation. "The railroad is frequently attacked," said the board member of the African American Institute, "roads are mined and convoys attacked."

Dulany, who visited Angola earlier this year, was testifying before hearings convened to assess the depth of the current hunger crisis threatening Africa. And the verdict looks grim.

In a new report on Africa's food shortfall, the Select Committee estimates that 13 to 14 million people in Angola, Mozambique, Sudan and Ethiopia are at risk of starvation as a result of severe drought and war. Chairman Mickey Leland (D-TX) blames "civil war and conflict with the Republic of South Africa" for the "perilous situation" in Mozambique and Angola. Portions of Ethiopia are experiencing 100% crop failure due to drought, locust infestation and civil strife. In Sudan, the "violence and chaos" caused by civil war and roving bandits have "sharply reduced local harvesting of crops and disrupted traditional trade," the committee concludes.

The major problem in Mozambique, according to the report, is "the distribution of the food and the non-food emergency assistance. An estimated 1.2 million people in need are largely inaccessible due to the insurgency campaign of RENAMO." United Nations officials warn that the problem could be worse than in 1983-85, when 100,000 Mozambicans died.

In making an appeal for aid at the United Nations on October 2, Ethiopia's Foreign Minister, Barhanu Bayih, forecasts slightly better conditions for his country than the 1984-85 crisis. "We are not expecting it to be as bad as last time," the foreign minister said at a press conference. "In Ethiopia we have both large rains and small rains, and we had the small rains this year. It is the big rain that failed."

The government and international relief agencies are better placed to handle a crisis now, he said. Transportation routes and equipment are improved, foreign aid workers are in the country (last time they had to be brought in after the crisis had erupted), and the government's early warning system is functioning much better.

Still, over six million Ethiopians in the Tigre and Eritrea areas are believed to be threatened with starvation – almost as many as during famine three years ago. "In some regions," Gerard Silole, Ethiopian director of Save the Children told *Washington Report on Africa*, "rainfall has been less than at any time in history." And rebels fighting for the independence of the afflicted areas are expected to launch a new offensive later this month.

Swarms of locusts in Eritrea are threatening what little harvest remains after the failure of the mid-season rains, reports Scott Jones, a biologist recently returned from the war-torn region. The Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) and local farmers have been using hand sprayers to combat the insects, but this method is slow and dangerous on the steep slopes of the Eritrean highlands.

Despite the threat to their own crops from swarms moving south, Jones says, the Ethiopian government has been reluctant to allow aerial spraying by the Desert Locust Control Organization in areas held by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

The U.S. has begun to respond to the crisis. One hundred and fifteen thousand tons of emergency food aid – with a price tag of $37.6 million – will be shipped to Ethiopia, though that will supply only one eighth of the total food that will be needed to avert widespread famine.

Ploughing barley in Ad Gedoun, a highland village near Eritrea. Scott Jones

Article 4 (cont'd.)

The United States, is the largest single donor to Mozambique. In fiscal year 1987, disaster and famine relief totaled $75 million – including a $1.2 million grant to the International Committee of the Red Cross for food delivery in areas of conflict – approximately one third of the international response.

And action may be considered on Sudan following an Agency for International Development (AID) briefing this week.

The situation is more complex in Angola, where Leland and other members of the Select Committee are at odds with the Reagan administration's support for UNITA and its reluctance to trust Angola's response to the situation.

"This famine presents the U.S. government with difficult questions," Chairman Leland remarked in his opening statements at the recent hearings. "Shall we meet our humanitarian obligations to the starving people of southern Africa despite the political complications?"

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ray Stacy outlined the administration position.

"We do not believe that all food shortages in Angola can be blamed on warfare and lost oil revenues," he testified. "It is clear that the government of Angola has the wherewithal to assume greater responsibility for Angola's at-risk populations, especialy the large numbers of urban destitute."

Stacy also challenged the accuracy of a June 15 United Nations report that estimates Angola requires 242,000 metric tons in food aid and $115 million in other assistance. "While these numbers are plausible," he said, there is no "explanation of how these figures were derived."

The likely outcome, according to a Hunger Subcommitte staff member, is that an "independent assessment" of the need will take place before any further congressional action. Such an analysis may be provided by Canadian CARE, which has a grant to study the situation.

But Leland argued in his opening statement that the delay may be costly for the one million destitute Angolans.

"Shall we provide necessary assistance now before thousands starve?" he asked. "The record must be clear that we chose to act." ■

Hunger Snapshot

Mozambique:

4.61 million people at risk; 1.8 million displaced, and 420,000 have sought refuge across the nation's borders. Food deficit: 427,000 metric tons of grain, 91,470 metric tons of non-cereal foods. U.S. response: 151,594 metric tons food assistance – 127,000 grain. $5.54 million in non-food disaster aid has been provided. U.N. officials urge donors not to provide additional food assistance to Mozambique without corresponding contibutions for distribution.

Angola:

2.73 million people at risk, 690,000 displaced. Food deficit: 214,000 metric tons grain, 43,284 tons non-cereal foods. U.S. response: 12,410 metric tons emergency food aid through the World Food Programme. 24,000 metric tons of emergency food aid will be provided through UNICEF.

Ethiopia:

5 to 6 million people at risk. Food deficit: Grain – 950,00 tons. U.S. Response: 115,000 tons of emergency food aid, plus 28,500 metric tons of mixed cereal.

Sudan:

1.2 million people at risk. Food deficit: 71,000 metric tons. U.S. Response: 3,011 tons of grain.

Source: House Select Committee on Hunger Situation Report #12, October 1, 1987.

Article 5: "Cash Crops." *Earthwatch* #21, 1985.

Harvesting a miserable crop of millet in Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) last November, after another failed harvest.

Cash crops

In the rural sector, one of the key elements in development has been cash crops for export: peanuts, coffee, tea, cotton, sugar and so on. Sub-Saharan African nations, it was said, needed foreign currency to import industrialized products and technology, and as the years went by this more and more came to mean imports of food and oil.

Today, this development strategy lies in ruins. Sub-Saharan Africa has indeed invested in cash crops, but as with most mineral commodities, market prices have fallen. In some cases, as the European ex-colonial powers have done with sugar, quotas and tariff barriers have been erected against the same cash crops we have encouraged. The dollar has risen dramatically against African currencies, so debts have become increasingly hard to service, let alone repay.

Together, low export prices, rising oil import bills, and high interest rates expressed in a high dollar, have increasingly meant that nearly every cent earned by exporting the cash crops which were intended to finance development has had to go towards debts and oil and imported food. The Organization for African Unity (OAU) calculates that 60 per cent of Africa's export revenue now goes on debt repayments.

Sudan is one of the worst affected countries, where in 1983 external public long-term debt was $7 billion, more than seven times its 1983 export earnings.

But the real evil of this over-emphasis on cash crops has been not in economic but in environmental terms. In the Sahel, the best land lies to the south, where the peanuts and cotton and other export crops are grown, either as dryland farming or under irrigation. Poor planning and management, often based on inadequate drainage, has kept down yields in irrigated cropland, and led to salinization and waterlogging.

The subsistence farmers, peasants who grow food to eat, and maybe to sell a small surplus on the market, have been pushed northwards into the semi-arid zone where the soil is poorer and the rainfall less. The organic content of the soil is low, and yields drop off rapidly after a few years. Traditionally, the land is then left fallow, sometimes for seven years or more, while vegetation and livestock droppings replenish the humus content.

Now, under the pressures of peasants driven from the south by increased cash-cropping, fallow becomes less and less common, and the soil is farmed until yields drop towards zero. When drought comes, as come it will, the degraded, dusty soil blows away in the wind.

In Niger, for example, average grain yields fell from 500 kilogrammes/hectare in 1920 to 350 kg/ha in 1978. And in the Kordofan province of the Sudan, over the 12 years from 1961 to 1973, sorghum

Article 5 (cont'd.)

yields per hectare fell by 55 per cent, and millet yields by 87 per cent.

As World Bank figures show, grain production in 24 drought-affected African countries has been falling steadily, down from 150 kg/ha in 1970 to under 100 kg/ha today. This is in marked contrast to the situation in Asia and Latin America where, over the 1960s and 1970s, grain production per person *rose* by 10-15 per cent. In Sub-Saharan Africa, it *fell* by over 20 per cent.

The problem is compounded everywhere in Africa by rapidly rising populations. Annual growth rates in Africa of between 2 and 4 per cent a year are threatening to double populations within the next quarter century, throughout the region.

Population growth in selected African countries

	Population (millions) 1985	Current annual population increase %	Population projected to 2020 (millions)
Burkina Fasso (Upper Volta)	6.9	2.6	16.5
Chad	5.1	2.1	11.3
Ethiopia	32.8	2.4	79.8
Kenya	20.2	4.0	72.8
Mali	7.8	2.4	21.6
Mauritania	1.9	2.8	5.4
Mozambique	13.8	2.7	37.1
Niger	6.5	2.9	19.0
Nigeria	90.9	3.2	258.6
Senegal	6.7	3.0	15.9
Somalia	5.9	2.6	12.8
Sudan	21.7	3.0	51.3
Tanzania	21.9	3.2	60.0

Source: Population Reference Bureau

The growing reliance on cash crops is usually coupled with a diminution in the number of crop species grown, and with a narrower spectrum of varieties within each crop species. Sahelian dryland farming traditionally grew a range of species, especially sorghum and millet. If one species or one variety was hit by unfavourable weather, another was not. Variety meant security.

In North America or Europe, a crop which does well for two or three years will almost certainly do well over several decades. The same does not apply in Africa, with its greater annual variations in rainfall, where wheat, or a higher-yielding variety of maize, may be very successful for four or five years and fail completely in the years of lower rainfall which will surely come sooner or later.

In the Sahel, cash crops and other factors have pushed growing numbers of subsistence farmers north into the semi-arid zone, where they start to cultivate land unsuitable for permanent agriculture. This is the pastoral zone where nomadic and transhumant peoples traditionally grazed their cattle, goats, sheep and camels. With the best pasture now permanently under the hoe, with rising human populations and increasing herd sizes due to vaccination programmes and more boreholes, and with government policies often directed towards sedentarization, the nomads are forced to overgraze their land, especially within a day or two of villages and waterholes.

When drought comes, even if there is water, there is no grazing. The herds die, and the people die, or move destitute into the cities.

So the subdesert pastures face desertification: without the protective plant cover the little rain that does fall washes off and evaporates instead of being retained in the soil. Desertification: the man-made process in which good land goes bad, and vulnerable soil becomes useless sand.

The plight of Afar nomads in Ethiopia illustrates the point. Much of their best grazing land, in the arid Awash Valley to the east of Wollo's central highlands, has gone to grow irrigated cotton and sugar for export. In May last year many of the Afar moved their herds west, to land which has traditionally provided them with emergency grazing, in the Borkena Valley. But this land has now been settled, under an otherwise well-planned development scheme, by peasants from the over-farmed, over-grazed and over-populated hills of central Wollo, the heart of the present famine.

The traditional agricultural and environmental safety valves had been destroyed by development. The result was not just starvation, but – since nomads are usually armed – violent conflict between settlers and herdsmen.

All over the Sahel, over-farming has degraded the soil: in drought, it blows away in dust-storms.

Article 6: Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) fact sheet.

Famine Early Warning System (FEWS)

The Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) is designed to identify and preempt problems in the food supply system that lead to famine conditions. The FEWS also tracks conditions in areas with nutritional emergencies, thus providing early indications that can prevent the degeneration of critical situations and provide a sound basis for monitoring interventions.

Purpose

The purpose of the FEWS is to provide sufficient data for decision makers to make informed decisions. The growing need for more detailed, comprehensive health and population information in those Sahelian countries currently experiencing severe food shortages has been the impetus for this project. While the FEWS represents the best effort possible, it is understood that the data collected will be of wide variability and reliability.

Goal

The goal of the FEWS is to construct a comprehensive data set that will provide sufficient forewarning of potential crises to enable decision makers to preempt those critical situations with appropriate and timely responses. The information collected by the FEWS is not meant to provide a comprehensive diagnosis of any particular critical situation. In no way should the FEWS reporting be considered to supplant regular and existing reporting efforts. The FEWS will attempt to assist those efforts. It is meant only to help identify potentially critical situations. Once the alarm is raised for a particular area, a more intensive effort can be targeted to address the critical situation.

Implementation

The Agency for International Development (AID) has contracted with Tulane University, School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Department of Biostatistics and Epidemiology to develop and test the health and population component of this system. This six month project began August 19, 1985, and will gather critical data in Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Somalia and Sudan.

A preliminary set of demographic, health, nutrition and "special warning" indicators has been developed. Individuals contributing to this effort have included professionals from the World Health Organization (WHO), AID, Centers for Disease Control (CDC), and other disaster specialists from Europe and Africa. These indicators will provide the categories for the information gathered by the field staff.

The field staff includes one public health advisor in each of the seven countries and four field trainers/supervisors. The public health advisors will gather secondary data, recording the information on microcomputers. Each report will be a record of the conditions at a particular geographic entity for a particular two-week period. The field trainers/supervisors are responsible for orienting and providing technical assistance and back-up for the public health advisors. The field staff of the FEWS project will be phased in during the first 30-45 days of the project.

The FEWS staff at Tulane will provide the following specific back-up duties:

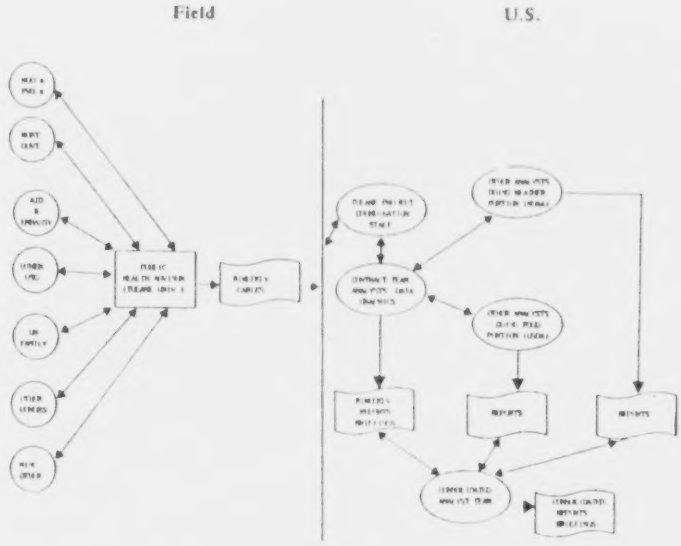
1. Support the field team in all logistical and technical areas.
2. Provide specific technical responses to field and AID/Washington personnel.
3. Develop appropriate methodologies for implementation of the FEWS data collection system.

Reporting

Reports will be generated twice monthly with information sent to the Task Force for African Famine, WHO personnel in each country, national government officials in each country, and other organizations with direct interest in aiding the relief efforts.

Traditionally disaster warning systems have concentrated on the proximate cause of the hazard; usually some part of the physical environment. The FEWS will add information on how the social system is responding to environmental conditions vis-a-vis the food supply system and data on basic physical quality of life indicators (morbidity, mortality, and nutritional status).

A standardized format will be used in each of the countries for reporting purposes. At the end of the six-month period, project staff at Tulane will make recommendations on the feasibility of maintaining this reporting activity on a sustained basis. If such a project proves feasible, a long-term famine/nutrition surveillance system will be considered.



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Article 7: "Tradition Keeps Pace" by J.D.H. Lambert, *UN Development Forum*, June 1986.

Agriculture

Tradition keeps pace

by J.D.H. Lambert

The deteriorating performance of the agricultural sector in sub-Saharan Africa has been a matter of major concern for more than a decade. It is the only region of the world where per capita food production has been declining steadily and some indications exist that production per hectare is declining also. The recent drought of 1983/84 has had further devastating effects on African agriculture.

The media, particularly television, has brought the current African problem into the homes of the more affluent. Many organizations, international and national, governmental and private, have responded to the challenge of this emergency by providing food and transportation to bring food to the starving. The acute, desperate situation has its long term expectations, and not only in Africa but also in other areas of the Third World. These expectations can be redirected only by understanding the underlying physical and socio-economic, cultural and political mechanisms in these areas in the context of the drought and famine problems and by developing better and more appropriate management practices and technology according to this understanding.

The present emergencies are but symptoms of more fundamental problems which are global rather than local and holistic rather than monosectoral in nature. To ignore the local symptoms without confronting the origins of the problem would be both incommensurate and short-sighted.

Many factors have been blamed for the critical shortage of food and energy: environmental limitations; insufficient price incentives for agricultural procedures; a lack of appropriate research on food crops; poor, or inappropriate, institutional development and infrastructure in agriculture and related improved land use systems and distribution mechanisms; inability to identify producers' real problems; and bureaucratic rigidity coupled with international trade and political constraints on one hand and individual greed on the other.

No simple solution, no single technology can reverse decades of neglect of food production in Africa. However, one recurring consensus in the recent famine debate has been the need to initiate programmes to rebuild the agricultural base in much of Africa. Before we jump to the conclusion that mechanization, fertilizers and pesticides, as used by the developed countries, are the answer we should first identify and examine the successful indigenous (subsistence) agricultural systems.

The term subsistence agriculture is generally interpreted as a labour intensive system with low productivity as practiced by poor farmers in regions where the soil is overfarmed. This interpretation is highly misleading. Visiting experts may assume that because local agriculture looks primitive it does not satisfy the basic needs of the people. However, if examined objectively it can be readily seen that many traditional agricultural practices are often well suited to local needs and conditions. Energy inputs in the form of machinery and fossil fuel comprise a major investment and are basically only suited to a monocropping cash crop form of agriculture.

For decades in sub-Sahelian West Africa traditional farmers have intercropped millet, sorghum and cowpeas; in Ethiopia it is tef, wheat and horse beans. Efforts to persuade such farmers to adopt modern, more profitable methods of farming have for the most part failed. Such methods have evolved in temperate regions where their successes (high yields) are accomplished by the use of massive inputs of machinery, fertilizer and pesticides.

Documentation on the reasons for the failure of small holders to change is lacking. The explanation that such farmers are superb agriculturalists, who are reluctant to adapt techniques worse than the ones they are already using, are generally not offered by visiting experts. An important aspect of traditional agriculture is the diversity between and also within primitive cultivars. Varieties have been carefully selected to enable the crop to survive the rigours of local climate and pests and thus provide the *low* but *steady yields* essential in subsistence agriculture. These cultivars with their genetic variation are a valuable resource for all plant breeders.

In most rural areas in the Third World, farmers have been cultivating the land for centuries. Some cultures, communities or tribes have failed while others have succeeded in developing adapted cropping systems. In the tropics the productive traditional farming systems have successfully minimized risk and maximized return by intercropping, and using low levels of technology and resources. Many of the characteristics of traditional agro-ecosystems are more desirable than those of monocrop systems. In general, intercropped systems are more productive, utilize soil resources and photosynthetically active radiation more efficiently, resist insect pests, plant pathogens and weeds better, produce a more varied and nutritious diet, better utilize local resources and nonhybrid, open-pollinated, locally adapted insect resistant seeds, and contribute to economic stability. Although today in much of Africa the small holders or traditional farmers are generally confined to farming low-quality, marginal soils with little capital or government support their systems are compatible with their environment and can provide valuable information for the development of additional yield-sustaining systems.

In the management and manipulation of agro-ecosystems, land, water, labour and energy can be substituted for one another within certain limits. Substituting any other factor for another provides some flexibility in the utilization and management of these resources. Mulching may improve poorer quality land to make it as productive as high quality land. Terraces are effective in preventing soil erosion. Handmade

Article 7 (cont'd.)

rock walls have permitted both dry land and irrigated agriculture to be practiced successfully. Depending on land-form: alluvial bottomland, degree of slope broad-based or steep back slope terrace systems, allow for optimal land-use, water control and energy inputs. The result is high energy outputs, i.e. increased crop yields.

A number of small farmer agricultural projects are being funded by national aid agencies (IDRC, SIDA, ODA, etc.). Such programmes have focused on documenting present day practices, identifying bottlenecks and problem areas, and introducing appropriate technologies to reduce problems and improve yields. However, unless I am mistaken, very little is known of these successes outside of reports in scientific journals and Workshop Proceedings.

Past African development strategies have not accorded adequate priority to the traditional agricultural sector and the potential role of the smallholders as the backbone of the African economy. This has inhibited the farmers from realizing a productivity level commensurate with their potential. Even where socio-economic pressures have driven small farmers to greater use of marginal and drought-prone lands they have been able to utilize the meagre resources and sustain a living.

Future technical assistance must be compatible with local culture and have a low technical complexity. Programmes should focus on staple food crops which have been traditionally grown and consumed in the countries concerned. Such traditional food crops remain the staples of African diet and form the backbone of national food supply systems.

The recent North-South Institute and Inter Pares Conference "After the cameras leave: the long term crisis in Africa" recognized that subsistence farmers should be included in any policy discussions. Other international agencies, World Bank, IFAD and the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research have now recognized that traditional agricultural systems have a role in future agricultural strategies.

An integral component in any new future agricultural development strategy for Africa must include a thorough examination and inventory of traditional small holder farmer agricultural practices. There is a need to identify those that are productive, determine why they are, where productivity can be improved and the cost, and the feasibility of transferring such knowledge to other geographical areas with similar ecological conditions.

In such labour-intensive productive traditional agricultural systems we should specifically document:

- Different cropping systems (monocropping, intercropping, relay/sequential cropping, agroforestry) and their suitability regarding land-form, environmental resources, labour and energy used.
- Soil types and moisture regimes.
- Water control systems—irrigation and/or drainage.
- Time and energy inputs into preparing land, planting, fertilizing, weeding, harvesting for the different cropping systems.
- Crop yields, energy and protein outputs per hectare.
- Grain storage systems, insect pest and plant pathogen problems.
- Genetic basis of insect pest and plant pathogen resistence in pre and post harvest production.
- Potential increases in yields with improved water controls, soil erosion control techniques, mulching, weed control.
- Barriers to increased agricultural production. These will include subsidies to maintain artificially low food prices, poor roads and transportation facilities, declining rural populations, low status of farming, inadequate storage facilities.

Traditional farmers have a wealth of biological and environmental knowledge to contribute to crop improvement and low-resource technology input schemes. By documenting such information from a number of selected localities in Africa we would focus on how the traditional systems of agriculture have provided and can continue to provide the basic needs of the local population, and how new technologies could increase outputs and thereby contribute to providing the basic food needs of the total population.

What must be conveyed is that traditional agriculture is the basic strength of the African countries and should no longer be neglected for a cash crop economy. Imported labour-saving technologies are more often than not inappropriate. Over cultivation without sensible land use management accelerates the problem of soil degradation and declining productivity.

Efficient use of local resources (biological and environmental) plus relevant technologies where appropriate would be far more beneficial. The central issue in sustainable agriculture is not achieving maximum yield; it is long-term stabilization. Traditional farmers have an attitude toward nature of co-existence not of exploitation. Traditional agriculture has a major role to play in any developing country's economy – it should not be ignored any longer. □

J.D.H. Lambert is a professor in the Department of Biology, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

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Article 8: "'Understand the Farmers Before Intervening' Malian Researchers on Innovation." *IDRC Reports*, Oct. 1988.

'UNDERSTAND THE FARMERS BEFORE INTERVENING'

MALIAN RESEARCHERS ON INNOVATION

DENIS MARCHAND

Makam Diara in front of his animal enclosure. Photos: Denis Marchand

"It's hard to imagine, but two years ago I left my cattle out in the bush for the whole dry season with a herdsman to watch over them for me," recalls Mr. Makam Diara, the first farmer in the Malian village of Sakoro to corral his cattle.

"They went looking for food and water and then came back when the rains came. But sometimes they were too weak or too late to do the farm work on time.

"Now I keep them on my land. They stay in the enclosure during the night and for part of the day. I feed them on what's left over from the harvest. They're healthy and well cared for, and ready to work when the rains come. And they provide fertilizer that my fields really need."

Every day, Mr Diara takes his 40 milk and draft animals out of the enclosure and cleans it. He saves the manure and food scraps and later spreads the mixture on fallow land or fields under cultivation.

During most of the day, the cattle feed on maize and sorghum stubble in the fields. They drink from the stream and graze nearby, under the watchful eye of Diara's 10-year-old son.

Like most of his counterparts in southern Mali, Mr Diara used to be a subsistence farmer who practiced shifting agriculture. After clearing a plot of land, he would burn off all remaining vegetation and grow sorghum and cowpeas until the soil was exhausted. When harvests became too small to adequately feed his family, he would abandon the plot and clear another.

Today, the use of organic fertilizer and better soil management allow Mr Diara to grow not only maize and millet for his own use, but cotton which he sells to the Malian Textile Development Company. Anticipating good harvests for the next few years, he has built himself a granary to protect his crops from rain, moisture, and rodents.

Like Mr Diara, several other farmers from Sakoro and the surrounding area have changed their planting and stockraising methods. They are using slash-and-burn less and less, working their fields with a plough, and fertilizing for better harvests. Small farmers are growing millet, sorghum, maize, peanuts, and cotton on land they had previously exhausted. In less than two years, Sakoro's grain production has gone from half a tonne to 2½ tonnes per hectare. Cattle are kept in collective or private corrals.

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Article 8 (cont'd.)

This change in farming habits and attitudes is the result of sustained efforts initiated in the early 1980s by the Rural Economics Institute of Mali's Ministry of Agriculture. The purpose of the agricultural development program it set up was to encourage the growth of maize and the use of manure and compost in the Bigouni-Sikasso area, which suffers from frequent dry spells and an alarming shortage of food.

Mr Moulaye Sangaré, a livestock officer with the division of rural production systems research, describes the project. "We weren't trying to implement anything revolutionary. Our main goal was to set up an information exchange between two groups of people — the farmers, who have the practical experience and knowhow, and the researchers, whose strong point is scientific theory. That's why the members of this extensive research project on farming systems, the first of its kind in Africa to be funded by IDRC, began by *listening* to the farmers instead of telling them what to do. They established a dialogue with the farmers right from the outset, and made them equal partners."

For Mr Sangaré, any development strategy that does not take into account the farmers' environment and goals is destined to fail.

Thus, in Sakoro and three other similar villages, the farmers have become part of the process, from program planning to evaluation. The research team members — an agronomist, an economist, a sociologist and a livestock officer — meet with the farmers on a regular basis (under the only tree in the area), taking note of their impressions and comments, and their suggestions as to the cause of poor yields.

The team also works with the farmers in order to identify their needs and aspirations, and the social, economic, and cultural constraints they face.

According to Mr Sangaré, this multidisciplinary approach has shown that the rural populace is not homogeneous, but very diverse. Large roadside villages do not have the same problems as the small isolated villages surrounded by countryside. And wealthy farmers don't have the same concerns as poor ones.

Project economist Hamadis Doucoure underlines the importance of economics in technology adoption. "It is important to know whether the proposed techniques are feasible and in keeping with the financial constraints on the region. Transport costs, for example, can paralyze a project completely. Why should a farmer grow vegetables if he can't take his crop to market because of poor roads? And why consider dairy farming if you don't have the financial resources to buy and feed cattle, let alone care for them properly?"

Mr Doucoure stresses that innovation generally involves financial risk. It must be recognized that in a situation of permanent hardship, the farmer's investment is based on the resources available at a given moment, not on hypothetical profit. His or her goal is not to maximize output but to ensure a livelihood for the family, regardless of production conditions.

When the research team arrived in Sakoro, even those farmers who had ploughs were not using them. The reason for this, explains agronomist Mamadou Abdul Kadai, was that no one had shown them how! "With no technical advice or training, the farmers were taking too long to plough the fields, and missing the first rains which are so important to crops. Or they would plough too deep and the seeds would rot with the result that, for all intents and purposes, the crops were lost. So the ploughs, which had been donated by expatriates or international organizations, were simply put aside. No one wanted to risk losing a crop just to try out a new technology."

Progress might seem slow to some experts, but it is definitely occurring — at a pace that suits the farmers, who, after all, are the ones taking the risks. New techniques being tested in Sakoro, Gladié, Flaboula, and Monzondougou are the talk of the region. People from neighboring villages watch the changes taking place and try to find out more about the new methods from friends and relatives. Some are getting very interesting results — which goes to show that farmers are not always resistant to change.

For Mr Kadai, the agronomist, new technologies are rejected because they fail to take into account the physical and economic environment in question, and because of a complete lack of understanding of the social dynamics of the target populations. "These villagers live in a different environment. They have their own methods for raising crops and animals. Their logic and way of life are based on personal experience and oral traditions handed down from generation to generation. It's important to realize how these cultures function, and the deep-seated reasons behind their actions."

Moulaye Sangaré, agronomist and livestock officer. "Listening to farmers is essential."

Although it isn't unusual for new farming methods to be rejected by the farmers, neither is it unusual for the research team to modify its approach in order to collect the information it needs for its work — information that cannot be found on a research station. The knowledge and test results obtained right on the farm make it possible to identify new thrusts, and, if necessary, revamp original plans.

"Farming systems research is a kind of bridge between basic research and development," says Mr Sangaré, for whom the systems approach is vital to enlightened decision-making. "It provides input for the conduct of basic research and encourages development. In addition, the multidisciplinary approach eliminates the prejudices of some local and foreign experts, who think that things are so bad that anything they do will improve the situation.

"Even if solutions are valid for one case, they must be adapted to the realities of each region, which are often very different." ■

Denis Marchand is a freelance photographer and journalist, based in Montreal, Canada.

Article 9: "Empowering Africa's Farmers." *Africa News*, Oct. 17, 1988, pp.6-8.

Empowering Africa's Farmers

There is a difference, says Nigerian novelist Buchi Emecheta, between African women and their counterparts in the West. "You 'feminists,'" she declared at a literature conference in April, "fought for the right to work. I am an African woman. I have *always* worked."

While a women's rights activist in the West might flinch at Emecheta's definition of Western feminism, no one can argue with the fact that as an African woman, she represents a hard-working group of people. Women produce 80% of sub-Saharan Africa's food. They work 14 to 18 hours per day, bear and care for children and head one third of all African households, according to a pamphlet issued by Advocates for African Food Security, a United Nations-based task force made up of 35 religious and relief organizations.

The pamphlet, "Women: Key to African Food Security," says that women in Africa:

- constitute 47% of the continent's agricultural labor force, but do two thirds of the food production work;
- spend from 20 to 30 hours a week transporting water, fuel and food for household needs – including as much as six hours a day just collecting water; and
- begin their working lives five or six years earlier than men.

Former Liberian Finance Minister Ellen Johnson Sirleaf told a recent United Nations symposium on "Lessening the Burden for Women" that women "are African agriculture; they are the embodiment of subsistence and survival agriculture."

Sirleaf is among a growing number of individuals and institutions calling upon African governments and international donors to include women in every phase of financial planning. Because women "manage all aspects of the food system from production to consumption," Sirleaf says, they "cannot be mentioned merely in the footnotes and subparagraphs of modern plans for African agricultural development. ... They will be the agents of meaningful development and food security in the future – but only if they are given proper education, training, resources, support and decent prices."

After a concerted lobbying effort by various grassroots development organizations, the U.S. Congress passed a bill late last month that will allocate $800,000 to the United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Decade of Women and $200,000 to the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. Other funds will be earmarked for current U.S. Agency for International Development programs that are directed towards women in Africa and for new programs "to ensure that women will regularly and effectively be integrated into Agency programmatic objectives."

"Women: Key to African Food Security" points out that longstanding traditions – both in Africa and in the aid community – could make implementation of new projects for women difficult. And, partly because "the unfavorable economic climate worldwide has worked against undertaking alternative or untested development initiatives," the report says, current African agricultural development programs "tend to favor men."

"Better growing techniques, agricultural machinery, improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides are usually introduced only for men. Extension services fail to reach female farmers. Women are denied credit to purchase materials needed to improve production. Women's lack of access to productive land is exacerbated by land being taken over by men for cash crop production." Women are thus "displaced and marginalized," the report says, by a development process in which men gain access to new technologies more easily than women.

If women are not consulted and trained at a level commensurate with their dominant role in agricultural and family matters, the report concludes, development efforts become "counter-productive for African women, and as a result, the entire community."

The report gives several examples:

- One African country decided to

Yosef Hadar/World Bank

Women produce 80% of sub-Saharan Africa's food. They work 14 to 18 hours per day, bear and care for children and head one third of all African households

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Debt Indicators in Developing Countries, 1975 to 1987

Country Group and Debt Indicator	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987a
All Developing Countries									
Debt service ratio:	13.7	16.2	17.9	21.0	19.7	19.5	21.8	22.6	21.0
Debt-GNP ratio:	15.7	20.7	22.4	26.3	31.4	33.0	35.9	38.5	37.6
Highly Indebted Countries									
Debt service ratio:	24.0	27.1	30.7	38.8	34.7	33.4	33.9	37.7	32.7
Debt-GNP ratio:	18.1	23.3	25.6	32.4	45.4	47.5	49.5	54.1	55.9
Low-Income Africa									
Debt-service ratio:	10.2	13.6	14.6	14.2	14.2	15.1	17.9	19.9	34.7
Debt-GNP ratio:	25.2	39.8	44.2	48.0	55.1	62.0	68.9	72.1	76.2

a. Estimated.

Source: World Bank

Africa's external debt, which now tops $200 billion, is a crushing burden for the continent's poorest nations. With debt-servicing ratios that eat up their Gross National Products, many African countries cannot afford to extend vital social services to their most vulnerable people, including women and children.

increase crop yields by introducing draught animals for tilling, work traditionally done by men. Because women, who were responsible for cultivating and harvesting the crops, were not trained to work with the animals, they continued to cultivate their vegetable gardens by hand. But they also had to hoe the large tracts of land plowed by the animals, leaving them less time to devote to vegetable growing. Family nutrition, and income earned through the sale of surplus produce, both diminished.

A quarter of Africa's population – 100 million people – do not eat enough to live productive lives. Many Africans do not obtain enough energy from their diets to prevent serious health risks or stunted growth.

• In another country, large tracts of land were cleared for irrigated agriculture, and the women were not consulted beforehand. All of the trees were cut down, depriving women of their main source of fuel and of the fruits, nuts and herbs they used for family needs or processed and sold to earn income.

• An international non-governmental organization, targeting Muslim refugee women in east Africa, brought in a male technical instructor to improve cultivation techniques. Though farming was principally the women's responsibility, only the men received training. The agency was insensitive to Muslim traditions preventing women from working with a man.

• Across much of the continent, where cash crop production has expanded, men's incomes have increased while food production and women's incomes have declined. The extra time women spent in the cash crop fields, controlled by men, gives them less time for growing and processing food for their families and for sale in the marketplace.

At last month's International Monetary Fund/World Bank meeting in Berlin, the World Bank unveiled a "call to action" on "The Challenge of Hunger in Africa." The report said that a quarter of Africa's population – 100 million people – do not eat enough to live productive lives. Further, many of these "food insecure" Africans "do not obtain enough energy from their diets to prevent serious health risks or stunted growth."

Food insecurity has several causes – including war, natural disaster and government mismanagement. The report says that the continent's food situation has deteriorated in the 1980s as "African economies have failed either to produce food or to generate enough revenue to buy it."

The same factors that produce food insecurity have taken a grim toll on the continent's children. In a news conference held during the UN's mid-term review of its program of action on the African economic crisis (see *Africa News*, October 3) Unicef Director James Grant said 10,000 African children die every day from a cluster of preventable causes. This death rate, which represents the loss of eight African children per minute, will probably not go down until African governments have money to spend on education, health care, women's cooperatives and other developmental structures. As the poorest groups in Africa, women and children are most drastically affected by government austerity measures that force reductions in social services.

The primary obstacle faced by governments in Africa when it comes to spending on social programs is the servicing of massive debts. Some African governments, like Mozambique's, would have to allocate over 100% of their GNPs to debt service in order to keep up with payments. And although some donor countries – notably Japan and France – have suggested innovative plans aimed at permanently reducing Africa's debt, the U.S. and others say they will agree to reschedule some debt but not to for-

B. Wolff/United Nations

Unlike most of their rural counterparts, some urban women earn hard currency by selling goods in street markets.

Article 9 (cont'd.)

give it. Therefore, heavily indebted countries can hope, at best, to receive more money in the short term while adding to a crushing obligation.

More and more government officials and development experts, including representatives of the World Bank and IMF, are grappling with ways to build into structural adjustment programs components that address the poorest of the poor. Ghana, for example, has launched a program to "mitigate the social costs of adjustment." But Ghana's economy, which appears to be on the rebound, is not typical in heavily indebted nations, especially those that are wracked by war, famine, drought and locust infestations.

In the meantime, at the family level, African women "have proved resilient and capable of innovative responses to those conditions imposed by structural adjustments which have affected their well-being," says Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

"When prices moved against them, they have been able to shift production to alternatives and consumption habits to acceptable substitutes. When social services are reduced or denied, they have pooled resources and activities in finding indigenous remedies. When faced with a lack of shelter, they have resorted to ingenious use of local materials or expansion in the extended family system. Often deprived of education and formal training, they have relied, with good results, on common sense and judgment."

But, Sirleaf warns, this resourcefulness does not spring from a bottomless well, and African economic recovery may rely on women being given a more decisive policy-making role. "The time has come," Sirleaf says, "to look beyond the stage of adjustment to the structural change which the concept applies. ... The key for Africa lies in a focus on Africa's farmers, 85% of whom are women." ■

Women cannot be mentioned merely in footnotes and subparagraphs of modern plans for African agricultural development. ... They will be agents of meaningful development and food security in the future.

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Session 4/Issue: Health

Facts About Health in the United States:

Numerous factors are leading to a crisis in the health care field in the United States today. These factors include prohibitive costs of health services, legal battles, the AIDS epidemic, and constant tensions between deciding whether or not to emphasize curative over preventative care. Ever-increasing numbers of people have no health insurance; and nursing remains one of the most underpaid professions in the U.S. today. Some Census Bureau facts relating to health include:

- While the U.S. ranks first in terms of military expenditure, the U.S. ranks 17th in the world in preventing infant deaths, down from 16th in 1980.
- Access to adequate health care is limited to those who can afford costly health insurance.
- Black infants continue to die at nearly twice the rate of white infants.
- The number of children born at low birthweights increased in 1983 for the first time in 14 years.
- Lifetime medical costs for underweight babies can run as high as $400,000; prenatal care that prevents babies being born too small can cost as little as $400.

Facts About Health in Africa:

- Dumping of hazardous waste and pharmaceuticals by industrialized nations endangers the health of thousands of people throughout the African continent.
- Aggressive marketing of baby formula by firms such as Nestlé and American Home Products continues to take its toll in infant deaths.
- Due to inadequate education by people throughout the world, Africans are often the scapegoat for the AIDS epidemic.
- African medical specialists are now researching the vast amount of traditional medicines that exist throughout the continent.
- In Africa, governments spend an average of $8 a year per person on health ($674 in U.S.)
- On the average, there is one physician for every 7,573 people in Africa (474 in U.S.). This figure varies enormously when you consider that physicians tend to practice in the urban areas.
- The infant mortality rate is, on the average, 118 per 1000 live births (11 in U.S.)
- Life expectancy in Africa is 49 years (75 yrs. in U.S.)
- Only 36 percent of the people in Africa have access to safe drinking water. Water is frequently contaminated by bacteria that cause serious intestinal disorders.

Ideas for Local Inquiry: Health

- Who suffers most from inadequate health care in your area (ethnic groups, the elderly, women, children)?
- Who provides health services for these population groups (organizations, hospitals, government offices)? Are the current programs efficient?
- What AIDS education programs are available in your area? How do these programs portray Africa? How do they reach the most afflicted population groups? How is AIDS portrayed in the local media?
- What kinds of prenatal health services exist for pregnant mothers? Do they reach the population most in need of care?
- Do mothers tend to breastfeed their infants or use baby formula instead? Are there any differences in infant feeding preferences by mothers of different ethnic groups, education levels, or income levels? How are infant formulas marketed at hospitals and other places in your community?
- Are the factors contributing to the health crisis in the United States mentioned above true for your community? Are there others that are specific to your area?
- How is racism and discrimination against "minority" cultures reflected in access to health care in your area? How are they similar to some of the problems of access to health services in Africa?
- What kinds of nutrition education programs exist in your area? Can malnutrition in your area be connected to inadequate nutrition education?

Through this inquiry, what conclusions can you make:

1) concerning specific problem areas relating to the health crisis in your community?

2) concerning connections with Africa on health issues?

3) What kind of action in response to this issue would you recommend and participate in?

Recommended Videos:

Child Survival Revolution

Low-cost highly effective primary health care for children is now available thanks to improved technology and community-based efforts. Examples cited in this video are from all over the world. (12 minutes).

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515, (219) 264-3102.

A Time to Heal

Shows how the people of Eritrea, living under long-term war conditions have developed a highly effective health care program using barefoot doctors and underground hospitals. (20 minutes).

Available from UUSC Citizen Action Department, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 7422120; or from the Eritrean Relief Committee, 475 Riverside Dr. #769, New York, NY 10115, (212) 870-2727.

Overview of the Readings for Session 4/ Issue: Health

The articles below explore a few of the main health issues on the African continent. The overall health situation in Africa is bleak, especially when compared to health standards in the United States. Life expectancy in Africa is 49 years; it is 75 years in the U.S. Infant mortality rates in Africa are about 118 per 1000 live births; in the U.S., the ratio is 11 per 1000. In Africa, there is one physician for every 7,573 people, with great differences between urban and rural regions; in the U.S., there is one physician for every 474 people.

The situation is particularly staggering when one considers the health of Africa's children. Article 1 compares the daily death rate of African children and pregnant mothers to that of 40 jumbo jets filled with children and 4 more of pregnant women crashing every single day. Our outrage increases when we find out that these deaths are all preventable, that the technology (but often not the financial resources or political will) is there. The author includes scathing criticism of debt payments and military spending which take priority over health in African government budgets.

Article 2, "The Ghanaian Concept of Disease," presents a backdrop to health in Africa, by offering a holistic African perspective on disease that may be difficult for a North American to understand. The key question in this discussion of disease is not how a particular person becomes ill, the focus of Western medicine, but why. This article questions whether the health professional should attend to the greater why, and treat the entire person, or focus on the how, and treat only the body and the symptoms.

Population growth is an issue that has captured the attention of many policy makers in Africa and elsewhere. In article 3, Djibril Diallo, a widely respected African scholar, presents a view of overpopulation as a symptom of a deeper societal situation rather than an isolated problem. In his opinion, population has become a myth which is used to obscure the greater issues. Article 4 presents the statistics we are more accustomed to seeing in regard to the population issue.

Western intervention in the health field has had some unexpected effects, as in the case of infant feeding. Breastfeeding is now generally recognized as the most healthy way to nourish an infant. But Western manufacturers of infant formula have aggressively promoted their products to African mothers as a "modern" — and therefore superior — alternative to breastfeeding. In article 5, Mama Watoto discovers just how inconvenient the use of infant formula can be, and is part of the Kenyan Ministry of Health campaign against infant formula use.

Health education is the first step towards building a healthy society. Article 6 "Juma to the Rescue," is a description of a comic book designed to educate the school children of Kenya. The project organizers at the Mazingira Institute, feel that this approach educates not only the children of today, but also the parents of tomorrow.

Article 7, a story of midwives in Zimbabwe, could have been called "Tradition to the Rescue." Faced with an extremely limited health budget, Zimbabwe, like many other African nations, has turned to indigenous resources. Traditional midwives can provide improved services at a lower cost than a team of health professionals could; they understand their patients' needs and can more easily gain their trust. The government is now providing appropriate conventional training to supplement the midwives' traditional skills. This will give Zimbabwe an immediate, effective method to reduce high infant and maternal mortality rates.

AIDS, the disease that grips the attention of health professionals and lay people worldwide, is more often than not directly associated with Africa. Most of us have accepted the idea that AIDS originated in Africa. Article 8 is a review of a book by Richard and Rosalind Chirimuuta that questions the validity of that assumption. A more conventional approach is taken in article 9, which discusses the effects of the epidemic and the mechanisms of its expansion. Article 10 presents the initiatives different African nations have taken to teach their populations about AIDS.

As Bishop Sarpong says in article 2, "There is no hunger, there is no disease, there is no poverty. There are persons who are hungry, persons who are sick, persons who are poor." The examples in this section demonstrate the importance of that distinction, and argue for "people-focused" basic health strategies, rather than for the abstract concept of curing illnesses. Only by giving the health sector priority in the national agenda, and by continually involving people and their opinions can there be improved health conditions in Africa. At the same time, listening to the perspectives Africans provide can enhance our understanding of our own health.

UUSC FILE PHOTO

A health extension worker on a consultation in the Palau region, Benin

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Article 1: "Child Survival: A Moral Imperative," *Africa News*, May 1, 1989.

United Nations

Maternal and child survival rates improve when women limit their families to fewer than five children.

CHILD SURVIVAL

A Moral Imperative

Try to envision a nightmare world in which 40 jumbo jets filled with children and four more filled with pregnant women crash every day of the year, killing all on board. The horrifying carnage is compounded by the fact that everyone on the ground knows the planes have mechanical problems and there are people who know how to fix them, but there is no money for parts.

It is easy to imagine the international outrage – and the mobilization of funds – that would accompany such a scenario. Yet deaths on this scale are occurring in the developing world, and most of them are preventable. If there is little outrage, it may be because, unlike a plane crash, the drama of a child's death in a remote African village is played out on a very intimate stage.

Even so, the numbers are staggering. Every year, three and a half million children in developing countries die from diseases for which vaccines are available, and another three and a half million are disabled by those same diseases. At that rate, it would take only one year for half the population of New Jersey to die and the other half to be disabled.

Half a million women – one every minute – die each year in pregnancy or while giving birth, and over 99% of those deaths take place in the Third World. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that for every woman who dies in pregnancy or childbirth, ten to 15 more are left handicapped, many as a result of illegal abortions.

Africa bears the overwhelming burden of these statistics. Twenty-four of the 33 countries with the world's highest rates of mortality in children under five (U5MR) are in Africa. These countries share a median U5MR of 209 deaths per 1,000 live births, meaning that *on average*, one child in five born will not live until its fifth birthday.

In many places, of course, the average is exceeded: a Malian child under five, for instance, has almost a one in three chance of dying. Only one African country, Mauritius, ranks among the nations with 30 or fewer child deaths per 1,000, a group that includes the U.S. and other industrialized countries.

Maternal mortality rates in Africa are also sobering. In the U.S., approximately nine women per 100,000 die during pregnancy or childbirth. That statistic itself is a poor 20th in the world, behind most industrialized nations. But in Ethiopia, the ratio is 3,500 per 100,000; in Benin, 1,680; in Nigeria, 1,500; and in Somalia, 1,100 women out of 100,000 die because of pregnancy.

"The lifetime risk of a woman dying in childbirth in America is about one in 8,000," says Dr. Adetokunbo Lucas, a Carnegie Corporation human resources program specialist. "In Africa, the lifetime risk is about one in 21. Pregnancy is the most risky thing that an African woman can undertake."

Most experts are now beginning to recognize the strong links between maternal and child health. But for many years, according to Lucas, "there had been no major interest in that high-risk period when a woman is pregnant and then in labor."

Child survival programs emphasize such practices as mothers monitoring their babies' growth for early signs of failure to thrive, breast-feeding as a method to promote both good health for the baby and birth control for mothers, and immunization. While Lucas agrees that family planning and child survival efforts are important, he says they "won't help children dying in the first month or in birth or who are damaged in the pregnancy period." For these children, he says, a concentration on maternal health is the key to survival. And of course, the death of a mother

during pregnancy or childbirth also reduces the survival chances and the quality of life of her previous children.

According to Lucas, a successful family planning approach must be multi-faceted. It should ensure that pregnant women receive adequate medical care, including nutritional counseling to guard against the complications that can be caused by conditions like anemia, which is a major killer of new mothers. Women should be assured of access to back-up services such as Caesarean sections and blood transfusions. And above all, women should be allowed to take control of their own pregnancies. They must be able to decide not to have too many babies and not to become pregnant too young or too old.

There are still many places in the world where girls marry and begin having babies before they reach mid-adolescence. Although campaigns to limit marriages of young girls have often encountered resistance on religious or cultural grounds, Lucas thinks each country in Africa should set a minimum age for marriage as a basic health measure. "In one study in northern Nigeria," he says, "6% of the women who delivered in the hospital were under 15 years old, but they accounted for 30% of the deaths."

WHO statistics indicate that if women became pregnant only between the ages of 20 and 39, the maternal mortality rate would be reduced by 11%, and it would drop an additional 5% if women stopped having babies at age 34. If women had no more than four children, they could decrease their chances of dying in pregnancy or childbirth by 4%.

Lucas also believes that even the poorest countries in Africa can afford to supply women with vitamins, anti-malaria medicines and nutritional advice through their childbearing years. But this is another area in which he stresses the woman's duty to take control. "If one is so poor as to not be able to afford a balanced diet for the woman, then that is not the time for her to get pregnant," he says. "Pregnancy should be a deliberate act to be undertaken at the most opportune time in a woman's life, and not a thing to be done without regard to her health and to her safety."

One of the most promising developments in the field of maternal and child health over the past five years has come from Africa itself. In September 1987, African health ministers meeting in Bamako, Mali adopted the Bamako Initiative, which has as its goal the extension of primary health care to all mothers and children by the mid-1990s. In 1988, the Organization of African Unity gave its strong support to the initiative, and since then, the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) and the World Health Organization have drawn up guidelines for implementation. More than 20 African nations are now in the process of putting the initiative in motion, though it is still in its planning stages.

The Bamako effort is, in part, an attempt to rebuild Africa's system of rural health centers, which has collapsed in the face of severely reduced support from central governments. Village health workers have withdrawn from the countryside because they cannot get basic medicines and supplies, because they have no support or supervision from regional hospitals – which are themselves operating at far below the necessary care levels, if they are functioning at all – and because communities have been unable to pay them.

The loss of village health centers has cut millions of rural Africans off from primary medical services. But it has not stopped them from spending money on health care: many have turned to traditional healers or to drugs of dubious safety and efficacy to treat their ailments, and studies show that rural Africans spend a significant portion of their incomes on medicines. A basic premise of the Bamako Initiative is to channel that money into community-based efforts to fund clinics and to stock them with widely used drugs and vitamins. After an initial period in which they will receive aid from various sources, rural clinics are expected to charge enough for their services to pay their operating costs.

Another premise of the Bamako plan is that health delivery systems in Africa have for too long been patterned after Western models instead of dealing with conditions in Africa. The results of such practices can be seen in many African dispensaries, where, says Adetokunbo Lucas, the shelves are stocked with "ridiculously expensive drugs that treat one in a million, while common antibiotics are not available."

The WHO has drawn up guidelines for a group of essential medicines that should always be available everywhere and suggests that countries devise management plans for drug ordering and distribution.

A recently published update on the Bamako effort's early progress is encouraging. It notes that a pilot project in the Pahou district of Benin has recovered 250% of its initial outlay in five years of operation and has plowed two-thirds of those funds back into the project. A revolving drug fund managed by the French aid agency *Medecins Sans Frontiers* (Doctors Without Borders) in the Timbuktu region of Mali has earned $60,000 in five years and spent half of that to replenish drug stocks.

The update also identifies several areas of concern, including the possibility of corruption. "If payment

Immunization: On the Road to Universal Coverage

Percentage of one-year-old children fully immunized in selected African countries.

	TB	DPT*	Polio	Measles
	1981/1986-7	1981/1986-7	1981/1986-7	1981/1986-7
Algeria	59/95	33/66	30/66	17/59
Botswana	80/99	64/86	71/88	68/91
Burkina Faso	16/67	2/334	2/34	23/68
Ethiopia	10/28	6/16	7/15	7/13
Lesotho	81/84	56/77	54/77	49/79
Mauritania	57/91	18/32	18/61	45/69
Mozambique	46/59	56/51	32/38	32/46
Rwanda	51/85	17/78	15/80	42/63
Sierra Leone	35/73	15/30	13/30	28/50
Tanzania	78/95	58/81	49/80	76/78
Zaire	34/54	18/36	18/36	23/39

* diptheria, pertussis (whooping cough), tetanus

Source: Unicef

Rebecca Kohler/Africa News

Unicef director James Grant says immunization has been one of the great successes of this decade. Grant predicts that the goal of universal immunization against six major childhood diseases will be reached by 1990.

is made directly for drugs," it says, "health workers may be given an incentive to overprescribe, and if payment is linked to treatment, underprescription could result." Bonuses for health workers have been suggested as a way around these problems.

Perhaps more importantly, the report says that concerted efforts will have to be made in training – not only to teach people how to provide health services to each community, but to teach the community how to manage its health center. One lesson learned from the pilot projects has been that the communities are reluctant to deplete the funds raised through sales of drugs, especially since their governments have yet to produce clear guidelines specifying which expenditures are appropriate and prudent.

"There is a serious risk," says the report, "that funds left in bank accounts will devaluate and possibly even revert to the national treasury."

In addition, many African countries have been unwilling to build a component into their Bamako plans that would ensure the care of indigents. "They argue," the report notes, "that enough protection exists through extended families, traditional mechanisms and community organizations to cover health costs for the neediest people."

What makes the Bamako Initiative encouraging, despite the problems that have yet to be ironed out, is that it extends beyond the supply of essential drugs to rural areas. The effort's aim, according to a summary in Unicef's 1989 *State of the World's Children* report, "is to strengthen and extend maternal and child health care and to promote community involvement in decisions about local health priorities."

During the initiative's critical early years, outside donors will be asked to supply drugs to communities free of charge. The proceeds from sales of these supplies will go toward the expansion of maternal and child health services, the maintenance of universal immunization – a goal targeted for 1990 – and the establishment of revolving drug funds at the national and district levels. The cost to donors for the first three years of the plan's implementation – during which 130-200 million people will be served – will be $180 million, or 50-75 cents per person per year.

The greatest threat to major advances in health care that would otherwise seem achievable may be Africa's debt crisis. With increasing percentages of national revenues going toward debt repayment, there has been a sharp decline in the amount of revenue allocated by individual countries to health and education. The world's developing nations have slashed spending on health by 50% per head in the last few years and on education by 25%, according to Unicef. The poor suffer most when spending cuts are made, and poor women and children suffer more than anyone. "It is time," says Unicef director James Grant, "to strip away the niceties of economic parlance and say that what has happened is simply an outrage against a large section of humanity."

But along with plans like the Bamako Initiative that seek to rectify the outrage in simple but significant ways, it is clear that African nations have some hard choices to make about where they will spend the money they do have.

Carnegie's Lucas says that in addition to indices of a country's fiscal health such as the Dow Jones Index, the Financial Times Index and the Gross National Product, each nation ought to have a "compassion index" to reveal its expenditures on health, education and other welfare services in proportion to what is being spent on defense.

"We can't mandate that a country spend X number of dollars per head," Lucas says, "but we can set a compassion index and monitor it." Health services, he says, "protect and defend the people in the same way that military services are supposed to protect and defend them."

Both Unicef and WHO agree. In a written statement prepared for hearings last month in Washington, D.C. of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Hunger, WHO's director general, Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima, said inequitable access to health services results in tensions that "will not be conducive to world peace."

Unicef's *State of the World's Children* draws a more direct parallel between militarization and the worldwide decline in living standards. "So overwhelming are the resources now directed to the military that some degree of demilitarization has become almost a pre-condition – in the great majority of countries – for the meeting of all other human needs." In Africa, countries like Kenya and Tanzania, which because of rising population rates can ill afford to divert funds from social services into their military budgets, have lowered social spending dramatically while raising defense appropriations.

According to Unicef, if military spending by the industrialized countries alone was reduced by only 5%, that would release the $50 billion needed each year to overcome the worst aspects of global poverty by the year 2000.

Despite the debt crisis and the worldwide increase in military

Trends in Social vs. Military Spending

Central government expenditure on education, health and defence as a percentage of total government expenditure for selected African countries.

	Education		Health		Defence	
	1972	1986	1972	1986	1972	1986
Botswana	10.1	17.7	6.1	5.0	0.0	6.4
Burkina Faso	20.6	17.7	8.2	6.2	11.5	19.2
Ghana	20.1	23.9	6.3	8.3	7.9	6.5
Kenya	21.9	19.7	7.9	6.4	6.0	8.7
Lesotho	22.4	15.5	7.3	6.9	0.0	9.6
Malawi	15.8	11.0	5.5	6.9	3.1	6.0
Mauritius	13.5	13.4	10.3	7.7	0.8	0.8
Morocco	19.2	16.6	4.8	2.8	12.3	16.4
Tunisia	30.5	14.3	7.4	6.5	4.9	7.9
Uganda	15.3	15.0	5.3	2.4	23.1	26.3
Zaire	15.2	0.8	2.3	1.8	11.1	5.2

Source: World Bank

Rebecca Kohler/Africa News

In many African countries, military spending has increased over the past decade, despite economic austerity programs that have mandated cuts in essential social services.

spending, many gains have been made – especially in the field of child survival – in this decade. Just nine years ago, for instance, the developing world lost a million more children to diseases that can be prevented by immunization than it did last year – and this is in spite of a boom in birth rates. In the past five years, "immunization coverage in the developing world has risen to approximately 50%" from about 10%, according to James Grant. He says immunization levels in Africa may reach 75% by the end of 1990 – a rate comparable to that of Boston or New York City, and one that is considered to offer virtually universal protection.

Grant often cites the progress made against diarrheal diseases in assessments of the last decade's successes. Many children's lives, he says, have been saved through a low-cost, low-technology treatment known as oral rehydration therapy (ORT), which helps ensure that the nutrients and minerals children need to survive are replaced after diarrheal episodes. In 1980, he notes, only 2%-3% of the world's parents had access to and knowledge of ORT. Today, that percentage has increased twenty five-fold. "The result," Grant said, "is the saving of 750,000 to one million children's lives each year."

Another effort that has proven to be a success is Rotary International's PolioPlus program. Just five years ago, the group pledged to raise $120 million worldwide to help eradicate polio by the year 2000. Working with rotary clubs in both industrialized and developing nations, Rotary International has now raised $230 million from donors in 164 countries. As an example of its outreach, the group is implementing a two year "marketing plan" in Cote d'Ivoire to create a demand for immunization. Local Rotarians produced publicity materials and vaccination cards; the international group stands ready to supply vaccines for ten full years.

"Polio will be eradicated by the year 2000," says James Grant, "and millions of tomorrow's children will owe their health to Rotary."

While acknowledging that "the number of children dying remains unacceptably high," U.S. Agency for International Development Senior Assistant Administrator Nyle Brady praised recent advancements in child survival while testifying before the House Select Committee on Hunger. "It is to the credit of everyone involved – especially the countries of the developing world – that so much has been accomplished," he said.

The push for child survival in Africa has been a global one, drawing national health ministries, local and international non-governmental agencies and foundations, as well as Unicef and WHO together in an effort to beat back the effects of debt and structural adjustment for the sake of children's lives.

Most experts agree that the key to the success of any effort lies in the degree to which it is cooperative at its highest and lowest levels. Carnegie's Adetokunbo Lucas says projects that help "caregivers work more closely with each other, from the birth attendant in the village to the university professor," should form the backbone of health delivery efforts.

One important feature of family health care, Lucas says, is mobilization of the community. If the community is involved in the delivery of care, in the identification of priorities and in fundraising, people will have a large stake in a project's success. "We quite often treat communities as passive receptacles of health care, rather than having them as full partners," Lucas says. "But whose health is it? It's their health."

Lucas believes that if basic knowledge about nutrition, family planning and health is shared at the village level, the benefits will be enormous in the long run. "We don't need skilled nutritionists going to every house," he says.

As an experiment in more effective practical instruction for the medical establishment, Carnegie is funding a program to train obstetricians for practice in rural Ghana. The project is a cooperative effort by Ghana's two university medical schools – at Accra and Kumasi – the American and Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons and Michigan State University. Previously, Ghanaians had to leave the country for some of their obstetrical training – meaning that most served internships and residencies in large U.S. city hospitals with the latest equipment and returned to Ghana unprepared to practice in under-staffed, under-funded hospitals and rural clinics.

Under the Ghanaian plan, obstetricians will have to practice for one year in a rural area of the country before being granted an obstetrical degree, and the hope is that they will not only be better able to cope with real conditions in Ghana, but will serve as teachers and leaders throughout their careers.

Lucas admits that one still-unresolved question is how to keep experienced obstetricians working in the countryside. He urges countries to examine their entire healthcare systems and to upgrade basic services along the lines of the Bamako Initiative. There are, he says, complex reasons why skilled professionals leave rural areas, and health ministries need to establish a dialogue with physicians and nurses to understand their concerns. He hopes the effort Carnegie is funding can develop reasonable, built-in incentives to keep its trainees working where they are needed most.

If Adetokunbo Lucas, James Grant and others are correct, efforts like PolioPlus and the push for universally available oral rehydration therapy will be the wave of the future for child survival throughout developing countries. It is true that control of a number of serious health threats, such as malaria and AIDS, is not so easily achieved. But with low-cost, low-tech methods and/or sustainable, cooperative, intelligently planned and adequately funded aid efforts, Africa *can* beat many killers that have largely lost their ferocity in the industrialized world.

The question, though, is whether that *will* happen. We know how to prevent most of the major diseases of childhood; we know how to make pregnancy and childbirth less risky for mother and baby; we know how to feed people; and we know that if we are willing to give up some military hardware, we can ensure that the entire world's population enjoys a favorable place on the "compassion index." What we don't know yet is whether we have the will to care for each other.

But James Grant supplies reasons to care in his introduction to *The State of the World's Children:* "...the protection of the most vulnerable," he writes, "is both a moral imperative and a practical pre-condition for sustained economic and social progress." ■

Article 2: "The Ghanaian Concept of Disease" by Bishop Peter Sarpong, *Contact, the bi-monthly bulletin of the Christian Medical Commission of the World Council of Churches*, April 1985.

Answering 'Why'– THE GHANAIAN CONCEPT OF DISEASE

By Bishop Peter Sarpong

Modern medicine has done much to control and contain disease. It is continually finding new answers to communicable disease. Yellow fever, for example, is no longer a threat to life; with one injection one can become immune to the disease for the next ten years. Diseases whose causes are known scientifically are cured through medicine or surgery. But modern medicine is often helpless against many kinds of cancer; even a less complex disease like jaundice still kills thousands throughout the world.

Disease, therefore, remains an enigma. It causes death, which is even a greater mystery than disease. Theories about the causes of disease range from the fantastic to the highly religious or completely scientific.

The Ghanaian View of Disease

The traditional Ghanaian has his own ideas about disease and, like any other human being, avoids illness. When the traditional Ghanaian falls sick or when a friend or family member gets sick, there is sadness because of the pain of the experience, but also because of the possibility that illness will end in death.

So the Ghanaian dreads disease and believes that disease is almost never natural. A person of ripe age can be sick and die, but this is believed to be a natural death due to old age.

When disease strikes suddenly, it cannot be normal. When disease takes away the life of a healthy young person, there must surely be something wrong, and when disease appears to be incurable and becomes chronic, it must surely be due to something that the victim or some other agent has done or willed to someone. To be sick, therefore, appears to the traditional Ghanaian to be abnormal. He knows that there are only a few people, if any, who never get sick but that does not take away the conviction that disease is evil.

Although all disease is evil, the Ghanaian often makes a distinction among various diseases. There is, first of all, the disease that one acquires before he is born: A baby may be born blind or somehow deformed. If this happens the cause is usually thought to be the sinfulness, moral misbehaviour or stupid action (intentional or unintentional) of the child's parents or of some other person. Such children were, in the past, quickly done away with at birth, for they carry with them the evidence of sin. Being abnormal, they were unacceptable right from the beinning.

Adults, too, become sick. Of the sicknesses that adults get, there are two kinds: one is unclean, the other is not categorized. (There is, of course, no such thing as a 'clean' disease.) The unclean diseases such as epilepsy, leprosy, smallpox, insanity, excessive diarrhoea, and swelling of the body are by their very nature, dreadful. Unclean diseases are a disgrace to the persons who contract them and to their relatives. Because of this, relatives hide the victim of an unclean disease if it is at all possible, thus often aggravating his condition. Before anyone outside the family is aware that a person is suffering from leprosy, the disease has caused its damage. So, even with the availability of modern medicine, it becomes very difficult to help such people.

Whatever type of disease one is dealing with, the victim is never abandoned by his or her relatives. To abandon a relative who is suffering from a disease, no matter how disgraceful, is to commit a very grave social sin. Indeed, it means one is liable to contract the disease oneself. The relatives of a sick person are bound to be near him, even to eat with him

Article 2 (cont'd.)

from the same plate. This is meant to give consolation which in turn may be part of the healing process.

The implications of such an attidude towards a sick person are obvious for the practice of scientific medicine. We know from scientific evidence that certain diseases are highly contagious. Nobody needs to be convinced that to go near a tuberculous person is to risk contracting tuberculosis. But time and time again in Ghana families feel bound to eat with their relations who are suffering from tuberculosis (which in Ashanti is called *nsamanwa:* the disease of the ghosts).

Preventive medicine in such cases has to involve educating people to realise that such social imperatives are real threats to their health. Many diseases could be prevented if relatives did not consider it an obligation to go near a sick family member or to stay with him and even share food from the same plate.

Another belief about sickness is that the sick person should never be ridiculed or laughed at. Sickness is a curse. It may result from many causes, but even when it is clearly thought to be the fault of the sick they should not be laughed at. One has the right to be annoyed, to be stern and even to suggest that the afflicted person deserves to be sick; but to ridicule is quite a different thing. In spite of everything, one has to show sympathy, and if the patient makes amends and is cured, he or she should be forgiven. In any case, one is never absolutely sure whether the disease has been caused through the patient's personal misdeeds. Disease can be caused by an act unwittingly done by the patient or another person.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF SICKNESS

In Ghanaian traditional thought, diseases can be caused and are often brought about by God Himself. There are certain patterns of behaviour which God is supposed to abhor. Such patterns of behaviour are connected especially with chiefs and heads of tribal groups and clans. When such people persistently offend God, it is thought that God will one day show His power by inflicting punishment on the leader's people in the form of disease. While such diseases can affect individuals, they are often said to be communal. So epidemics and pestilences or a great increase in infant deaths are often attributed to the direct intervention of the All-Holy God who hates man's misdeeds.

In Ghana, as in many parts of Africa, there are no priests or temples, as such, of God. God is not worshipped as are the divinities, nor is he venerated communally; but when a disease or an epidemic is thought to have been caused by God, then the whole nation or tribe or community which is suffering rallies around its communal head and makes a joint sacrifice to God to appease him. In such situations, people think that the western type of medicine is inadequate. The disease is spiritually and divinely caused, and likewise, the remedy must be spiritual and divine.

Health is equated with being at peace with God. For as a matter of fact, whatever the cause of disease, it can be traced back ultimately to God. The divinities and ancestors can act to cause disease, but they more or less are deputies for God. Even evil witches and sorcerers could not perform their acts if God did not allow it.

ANSWERING WHY

To offer a summary of what has been discussed so far: the Ghanaian, like other Africans, adopts a philosophical approach to disease. Man is meant to enjoy good health, but man is perpetually ill. There must be a cause for this, but the cause is not always obvious.

An epidemic cannot come about without cause. God is good. If he allows dozens or hundreds of people to die in a community, then there must be a reason. The reason cannot be the wickedness of God, so it must be the wickedness of man himself. If it is not God who is annoyed, then it must be the divinities or the ancestral spirits.

Article 2 (cont'd.)

The Ghanaian knows very well that there are natural causes of happenings. He knows that there are certain rules of cause and effect which are inevitable. There is no mystery about them. They require no explanation beyond the normal. What is explained by recourse to sorcerers and witches are the particular conditions in a chain of causation which relate an individual to natural happenings.

To give an example, one may explain scientifically to a mother that her child died of a sickness caused by a hepatitis virus which he got from someone carrying the virus. The mother has no problem with this explanation. She accepts it. But her questions may remain unanswered. Why did the infection enter the body of her child? Many people went near that sick person, why did they not get jaundiced, too? The doctor who explains her child's death to her has handled many such patients. Why has the doctor not got jaundice and died? And why do others who get jaundice recover? For the woman, the scientific explanation has only succeeded in revealing that witches really exist and are indeed powerful. Belief in witchcraft serves to explain the particular and changeable conditions of an event and not the universal conditions. The witch is only the agent for bringing together unrelated circumstances.

The plain truth is that man has never found the answer to the question: "Why?". All our scientific explanations answer the question: "How?". Causes of death or illness are often explained by the western-trained person on the basis of how they happen, but not why.

If a tree is blown over by the wind and falls on someone, it is understandable. But this particular tree has stood for a long time. Similar winds have often blown. People pass under the tree every day. Why should that particular wind blow and cause the tree to fall at a particular moment when a particular person is passing by? The answer for many Ghanaians is that only witchcraft could have brought these random happenings together in time and place. So long as the "whys" of happenings are not adequately explained, the Ghanaian, like his counterparts all over Africa, will find it difficult to abandon his traditional view of the concept and causes of disease.

Article 3: "Overpopulation and Other Myths about Africa" by Djibril Diallo, *Christian Science Monitor*, April 22, 1986.

Overpopulation and other myths about Africa

By Djibril Diallo

Djibril Diallo, a Senegalese national, is chief spokesman for the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa.

OF all the myths about Africa prevailing in the West, none is propagated with more vigor and regularity than the notion that overpopulation is central cause of African poverty. The recent famine is given propagators of this myth fresh ammunition ith which to press home their argument.

All myths are dangerous, especially when they come the basis of policy. But the overpopulation myth particularly harmful because it often preempts deeper obing into the complex causes of underdevelopment.

Moreover, the frequent repetition of this myth by outders actually contributes to resistance to family anning programs. After centuries of foreign domination, many Africans are deeply suspicious of any mpaigns designed to alter the way they live and have. Thus, even African governments committed to wer population growth rates are very careful about w they present these goals to the public.

Foreign pronouncements on the subject do not make eir task any easier.

A brilliantly lucid example of this was provided cently in Kenya. Just as the Kenyan government was ncluding careful negotiations with the United States gency for International Development to launch a major arketing drive for contraceptives in the rural areas, ildren in the central highland areas suddenly stopped king their free milk drinks at school. The reason came clear a few days later when a man appeared in urt charged with spreading the rumor that the milk

Article 3 (cont'd.)

d been treated with contraceptive chemicals. The plication behind the rumor was that the authorities shed to reduce the population increase of the ethnic oups living in the region.

In any event, there is little agreement among Africans those who know the continent well that overpopula-n is the critical issue it is made out to be. Indeed, in ny African regions the problem is *under*population: e people are so thinly spread over large areas that it is ten difficult to create a meaningful infrastructure to omote the interaction crucial to development.

Lloyd Timberlake, a respected writer familiar with e continent's diverse landscape, recently published an cellent study, "Africa in Crisis," in which he states, he fact that African nations cannot feed themselves es not prove that the continent is overpopulated." He kes the point that while industrialized countries like Switzerland, Japan, and the Netherlands are not self-sufficient in food, this does not have to be the case for Africa. Chad alone could feed the whole Sahel.

Key figures seem to undermine the myth's credibility. Africa's average population density is only 16 per square kilometer, against China's 100 per square kilometer and India's 225. Furthermore, Africa has more arable land per capita than any other developing region.

Africans also point to the case of India, condemned by many experts in the 1960s to perpetual hunger. Today India is producing the bulk of its own food. In their quest for appropriate solutions to their own food predicaments, more and more Africans are making their way to India to study breakthroughs there.

Given India's — and indeed China's — example, one can see that population in its isolated context does not provide the clue to a country's ability to feed itself, and that population policies are meaningless unless coupled with specific measures to promote economic growth.

Rapid population growth is a concern of African leaders. In fact many nations are trying to encourage family planning. But they try always to pursue such plans in ways derived from African cultures themselves.

Unfortunately, the view that outside experts — some of whom arrive in African capitals with briefcases bulging with solutions for problems they do not fully understand — know best has carried considerable weight, even in Africa itself.

Overpopulation is but one myth that abounds about Africa. Another one that seems to have taken root in the wake of the famine is that higher food prices make peasants boost food production dramatically.

But the fact is that price increases alone will accomplish little if all-weather roads do not exist along which peasants can transport their food to market. Nor will higher prices mean more production if the growers can't get credit to buy fertilizers, if land is used for speculative rather than agricultural purposes, or if steps are not taken to preserve or rehabilitate the soil.

Even so, it is sometimes found, the main beneficiaries of higher food prices are not producers but traders, who buy cheap at harvest time and sell dear later.

Myths sooner or later are punctured by reality. In Africa's case, unfortunately, it is mostly later, because of the historic neglect of the continent in the world press. Regrettably, even when the famine of 1984-85 forced Africa upon the world consciousness and provoked concerned scrutiny of the causes of hunger, many myths have been left intact partly because the news media neglected to report on what Africans were saying and thinking about the hotly debated food and development policies.

Innumerable Western experts were quoted on what Africa needs to do to fight famine. But rarely, if ever, did the media seek the views of African planners, leaders, scholars, or public officials, not to mention our agronomists or peasant farmers.

So there is a danger here that instead of genuine education about Africa, the world press has helped form opinions and set the stage for new plans of action to which Africans themselves have contributed only their assent — the assent, at best, of unequal partners.

This course will result in a new round of policies out of harmony with primary African needs and likely to fail. This lapse in media coverage reflects the longstanding tendency in development and investment circles to treat Africa as if it were unable to formulate effective policies on its own.

Unfortunately, the view that outside experts — some of whom arrive in African capitals with briefcases bulging with solutions for problems they do not fully understand — know best has carried considerable weight, even in Africa itself.

This has led to a readiness to accept guidance from those who do not take into consideration the needs and complexities of our diverse societies and fragile ecologies. The result is that even many Africans begin to repeat the myths conceived in distant lands.

There are no easy ways out of the predicament. It is very difficult to counter simplistic myths with complex explanations of the continent's interrelated problems. But a beginning can be made by the media, some elements of which are continuing to keep Africa's critical problems in the limelight. In this continuing coverage, they would do inestimable service to Africa and to their own nations if they were at least partly guided in their reporting by the views of the African people themselves.

Article 4: "The Population Crunch," by Sadik Nafis, *Africa Report,* July-Aug. 1988.

THE POPULATION CRUNCH

The executive director of the United Nations Population Fund warns that if current trends in Africa's population growth continue, the continent's development efforts will be overwhelmed, threatening the very basis—the environment—upon which economic growth depends.

BY NAFIS SADIK

Nairobi, Kenya's capital, is a throbbing, thriving town at the heart of Africa. A center of government, finance, development, and international affairs, it draws statesmen, businessmen, diplomats, and tourists from all over the world.

A hundred years ago, Nairobi did not exist. At the turn of the century, it was an army camp, a railroad station, and a bazaar, linked by a muddy road. The army camp and its redcoats are long gone; the station is still there, but most travellers hardly notice it on their way to the airport. The bazaar, on the other hand, is thriving, and grows bigger almost while you look at it.

Nairobi, in fact, grew by six times between 1950 and 1979. "I am tired of being pointed out at international conferences as the leader of the nation with the world's highest population growth," said Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi not so long ago. No wonder: On current estimates, Kenya's total population will double in less than 20 years. By then, Nairobi could well be three times its present size. No country has ever grown at this pace—even Kenya, where the growth rate has been rising steadily for decades. It has now probably reached a peak, but growth will go on. From 20 million, Kenya could well have 70 million people by 2025.

Kenya is one of 42 African countries where population can be expected to double in 35 years or less. Looked at one way, these figures are welcome evidence of success in cutting down infant mortality and increasing life expectancy. But they mean problems for other areas of development. African leaders know better than to equate sheer numbers with national strength. The problem, as they point out, from Senegal to Swaziland, is that they must find the means of coping with all these new faces at the national table and find them quickly before social, political, and economic systems collapse under the strain.

Zimbabwe, one of Africa's recent success stories, could support four times its present population from its own resources, apparently putting the population crunch far into the distance. But on current estimates, Zimbabwe could reach that limit in 40 years. The government's response is firm. "While we do not propose in some crude arbitrary manner to limit population growth, we must seek to achieve a definable relationship between population growth and the capacity of our country to provide material requirements," said Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in 1985.

Zimbabwe's national conservation strategy accordingly calls for "replacement-level" fertility by 2015, in order to achieve a stable population of 23 million by 2075. In a country where women traditionally have four or more children, arguments in favor of "stopping at two" will have to be very persuasive. And the persuasion must be done quickly: The generation which will be having babies 40 years from now is already on the way. For Mugabe and other African leaders, the population problem is here and now.

Nevertheless, as Mugabe clearly recognizes, there is no point in rushing at it. Hard-sell tactics do not go down well in Africa. African society traditionally favors families of four or more, a mindset reinforced by the "wabenzi," the new rich who flaunt their wealth, their wives, and their many children. In the end, people will have small families not because governments say so, but because they can see the point.

Nigeria's Minister of Health, Dr. Olikoye Ransome-Kuti, says, "There is a very high unmet need for family planning. The economic situation in Nigeria has brought it home to our people that if they want to have their children educated and well-fed, then they have to begin to do something about the children they are going to have."

The optimists still argue that Africa is rich. If Africa's resources were developed for the benefit of all its people, they say, there would be no population problem. But as Nigeria and Zambia, among others, have discovered, the mere influx of oil or copper dollars guarantees nothing. Cautiously planned economies, as in Tanzania, have found the national capital tied up in trying to provide the basics of life for a burgeoning population. Meanwhile, industrial development and the infrastructure it requires are severely undercapitalized.

Development is not an overnight thing. It takes time to put in place all the many elements which go to make up the mix. And with the best will in the world, Africa does not have the time. Rapid

Article 4 (cont'd.)

population growth overwhelms development efforts, however carefully planned.

There is another twist to the story. The combination of rapid population growth and the grinding poverty of much of the continent combine to threaten the environment—the very land, air, and water on which all else depends. The threat is accentuated by the drive to mobilize Africa's natural capital—its timber, mineral, and agricultural potential.

All over the continent, forests are disappearing under the axe and the bulldozer, cleared for subsistence farming, commercial logging, and export crops. Crucial watersheds are crumbling, as in the Ethiopian highlands. The great rivers they serve, like the Nile and the Niger, are shrinking, even as the numbers of people who depend upon them are growing.

Industrial development will not provide an answer to this constant degradation. Indeed, industrial development contributes its own burden to the environment. There are now grave doubts about the wisdom of huge projects like the Aswan or the Volta dams, or of large-scale export agribusiness, as in the Niger's or the Nile's headwaters. Nigeria's belt of mangrove forest, which protected its coastline for centuries, has disappeared under urban sprawl and coastal development.

Industrial development draws people to the cities, which, like Nairobi, are groaning under the strain. In slums like Mathare Valley on the outskirts of Nairobi, population is growing at over 10 percent a year. These are often young people, drawn to the city by the hope of a better life. But they are also refugees, people driven off the land by poverty and overcrowding.

Slums and shanty towns like Mathare are found in every African city—perched on hillsides or river banks, in swamps or gullies, using land no one else wants. They are a visible and growing threat to the environment, social as well as physical. Without running water or proper drainage, the Mathares of Africa condemn millions to live among their own waste, shortening their lives and the lives of their children.

The children are already at a severe disadvantage. They are four times more likely to die in infancy than their counterparts elsewhere. If they survive, they have little chance of escaping their parents' poverty.

About one-third of Mathare Valley's adults are single mothers, a poignant example of how the population poverty trap selects its victims. Women carry more than their share of the environmental burden. As fetchers of wood and carriers of water, farmers, cooks, waste disposal experts, designers, and builders, they are in a very real sense the managers of the micro-environment in which they live.

But they—especially the poor among them—are also the most vulnerable of groups. Their work is barely recognized in national statistics and is heavily undervalued in economic terms. The result is that there is little protection for them because there is little perceived need for protection. What development assistance there is tends to go to men, which may be marginally useful, but may also have the effect of undermining already existing systems, created and operated by women.

Governments of all political shades now accept, like Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, that whatever the path to national development, it must include some attention to population growth and some limit on the explosive growth of major cities. They are also coming to believe that to solve population problems, direct attention must be paid to the economic and social needs of the majority of the population, the vast numbers who throng the slums and shanties or try to find a living on the land.

Nigeria's Ransome-Kuti is a pediatrician by training. He has a natural sympathy for the vast masses who were left out when Nigeria's oil wealth was being divided under successive civilian and military governments. He is quite clear, even passionate, in his belief that the health needs of the poor must be addressed, and believes that this is an essential step on the road to smaller families.

With the help of U.S. AID, UNFPA, and Unicef, he has begun an ambitious plan to establish or refurbish health centers in the slums and suburbs of Nigeria's teeming cities, and to reach out into the remote rural areas with health care for mothers and children. He includes family planning as an essential element and he realizes the need for encouragement, especially among the men. Loudspeaker vans tour the suburbs playing songs and broadcasting speeches in favor of the smaller family, and the overworked nurses and doctors who staff the clinics have been told to add family planning to their list of services.

Nigeria, like ten other African countries in the last year, has recently announced a population policy. It includes a strong component for information, education, and communication. All successful population policies have the whole-hearted support of all sectors of the community, from national leaders to ordinary men and women in the villages and towns. It is the ordinary people who make the final decisions about family size. It is to the ordinary people that leaders must turn to gain acceptance for the idea of smaller, healthier families through birth-spacing.

Above all, the people must be convinced that birth-spacing is not a foreign idea coming from outside—it is an African practice dating from the time before African societies were invaded and colonized. Encouraging modern forms of birth-spacing, as a means to a strong and healthy family, will find an immediate response from the mothers and fathers of the new African peoples.

Among those who must be convinced of the importance of social development programs are the donors, governments, and public and private lending institutions. All acknowledge the need

Article 4 (cont'd.)

for slower population growth, but few take real account of the realities of successful programs.

They are beginning to accept however, that education, health, family planning, and women's programs are not optional extras or luxuries, but essential components in the development mix. This will be an important breakthrough, because of their influence on national and local leaders in African countries.

The social development agencies, such as WHO, Unicef, and UNFPA, and their counterparts in the developing countries—teachers, priests, non-governmental organizations, and social activists of all kinds—have been arguing for years that their programs are essential. Now there is a chance that they might be heard.

"Structural adjustment" programs to anchor the development plans of the poorest countries firmly in economic reality will include a social element—or at least will not exclude it. Plans for repayment of Africa's massive debt will still allow social programs to function. Social development programs are at last being recognized as crucial for Africa's future. For the millions of ordinary people and their families in African countries, it is not a moment too soon.

Dr. Nafis Sadik is executive director of the United Nations Population Fund.

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Article 5: "Mama Watoto," *Contact*, the bi-monthly bulletin of the Christian Medical Commission of the World Council of Churches, Oct. 1983.

A morning in the life of Mama Watoto who is about to prepare a bottle feed according to the correct FORMULA!
This lovely picture book makes it look so easy!
THE BABY BOOK
TO STERILIZE ALL USED BOTTLES....
1. Wash hands thoroughly with soap + water.
Hold the baby till we get back!
WATER
2 Rinse the bottle + teat in cold water before removing the teat + rub the outside of teat with ordinary kitchen salt to get off the slime. Take off the teat, turn it inside out, rub the inside with salt..
SLIME? I don't know "slime"!
We're HUNGRY!
3 Rinse well with warm water. Keep the teat in a small covered jar which is scalded daily.
Now I have to remove the cooking to heat the water!
Also a jar I don't have!
4 Now rinse the inside of bottle with plenty of cold water to get out all the milk possible. Then wash with hot water + a very little washing soda or detergent, brush with a bottle brush (Boil the brush every day!)
I need matches, soap, bottle brush, what else!
At the Duka
We don't have bottle brushes. Will this brush do?
5. Rinse + allow to dry upside down
UPSIDE DOWN, WHERE?
6.
hungry
7. Wash + scrub hands before picking up the bottle to prepare next feed + do not touch the neck or inside of the bottle
Something went wrong somewhere!
8. Place the clean bottles + teats in a pan of cold water that completely covers the bottles. Boil for a full 5 mins. Leave to cool in the pan with the lid on.
But I must prepare our food.... and baby's frantic!!
WAAAA
WAA
Ah, 1 minute boiling should be enough!
Mama, I did a poo poo!

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Article 5 (cont'd.)

TO PREPARE A FEED (Phew, not long now!)
9. BOIL some water ....
Oh, this is not enough
10. Wash hands.
AGAIN ?
11 Dip scoop into powder taking care not to touch it, level it off with a clean knife put it into a measuring jug .....
I'm going to the toilet TOUCH NOTHING!
12 Then pour a little of the hot boiled water into the jug + mix until mixture is smooth + creamy. Gradually add more water stirring all the time until the correct amount is obtained. Put milk into bottle + put on a clean teat
What have you kids done with the teats?
13 THIS IS WHERE IT GETS ABSURD! If the teat is blocked, insert a red hot darning needle. If it is running too fast then change the teat!
This is NOT the FORMULA For SUCCESS!!!
14.
Is this what I need?
ENERGY!
FOOD
WATER
SOAP
WATER
WATER
WATER
WATER
15
HELP!
HODI!
LOCAL HEALTH WORKER ARRIVES
How are you getting on with the baby, Mama W?
I've got to prepare 10 more feeds today + I haven't fed the kids yet + the rains coming + the ground must be prepared and, and ....
Well, why don't we try a different approach. Let's say we go back to BREASTFEEDING him!
B. I. G

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Article 6: "Juma to the Rescue: Health Education for East African Children" by Anis Wasilewski, *IDRC Reports*, Oct. 1988.

JUMA TO THE RESCUE

HEALTH EDUCATION FOR EAST AFRICAN CHILDREN

ANIA WASILEWSKI

"Juma awoke one morning and looked for his baby sister to see how she was feeling. Kadogo, who was only one and a half years old, had been very sick with diarrhea for the past day. Juma's mother knew all about the special drink and had stayed awake to give it to Kadogo many times during the night."

This is the opening paragraph from a Kenyan children's health learning package called *The Mazingira Magazine* which tries to teach Kenyan and Ugandan children that "good health is everyone's right". The annual publication is an innovative approach to health education. It contains stories and comic strips about oral rehydration therapy (a treatment against dehydration caused by diarrhea), water treatment, safe latrines, and rainwater catchment. Educational board games that can be played with stones or pebbles, and contests that enable researchers to find out how much children have actually learned from the magazine are also included.

In this fictitious story, Juma's aunt arrives at the house and tells him they must not feed Kadogo anything until the diarrhea stops. Juma replies, "Oh no! I learned in school that we must give those with diarrhea something to eat so that they can become well and stay strong." Aunty is skeptical but she "could feel how much Juma believed in what he was saying and she was very proud that Juma had the chance to go to school and learn new things."

Juma then prepares an uji (finely ground maize) porridge for Kadogo. He tells his aunt that "Giving Kadogo food will not stop the diarrhea but if she eats a little bit many times during the day, then some of the nutrients will remain in her and make her feel better." He also continues to give her the "special drink" — Oral Rehydration Solution. That evening Kadogo is much better and by the next week she is healthy again. "She had not lost any weight so she was active and ready to play with Juma again."

In Kenya, health education is not part of the school curriculum. And yet Kenyan children are "living these issues" — diarrheal diseases, unsafe drinking water — according to Shaheen Kassim-Lakha, a member of the editorial team of Mazingira Institute, the Nairobi-based non-governmental organization that publishes the magazine.

The mortality rate for young Kenyan children is high: for every 1000 live births, 121 children die before age 5. Waterborne diarrheal diseases are responsible for many of these deaths. Only 28 percent of Kenya's population has access to safe drinking water, and 55 percent of Kenya's rural population lives below the absolute poverty level. In such an environment, basic health education — for example, learning the importance of clean drinking water — is crucial if children are to survive.

When the Mazingira learning package was launched in 1979, it concentrated on environmental issues. In 1983, however, its focus was switched to health issues. Each of the 12 700 primary schools in Kenya (and some in the Kampala district of Uganda) receives 10 copies of the 16-page colour magazine once a year. This of course isn't enough for students to have their own personal copy, but Mazingira can't afford to print more.

"We recommend that teachers pin it up, and put it in the library — and, more importantly, use it as class material," says Ms Kassim-Lakha.

Rather than simply writing what they think is suitable for a young readership, the editorial team asks the children to answer certain questions printed in the contest section of the magazine. For example: "Where does your family fetch water from? What was a common cure for diarrhea in the old days?" The children mail their answers to the editors and the top 40 receive prizes such as gift tokens that can be exchanged for books. The children's answers "give us insights into what the children are thinking," says Ms Kassim-Lakha. From these responses the editors plan the next issue.

Before the magazine is distributed, it is pretested in both an urban and a rural school for comprehension. The contest is also pretested "to make sure it's doable and not too time-consuming," says Ms Kassim-Lakha.

In 1986, IDRC funded an evaluation of the impact of the magazine on children's health-related behaviour and attitudes, using the contest as a survey mechanism. Over 2500 schoolchildren in upper primary school (standards 5, 6 and 7) sent replies. Students and head teachers in both rural and urban schools were also interviewed.

The researchers found there was a definite difference in knowledge between the control group (which had received copies of an earlier issue on environment) and the experimental group (which received the issue on water and sanitation). However, the survey did not provide a clear indication as to whether exposure to the magazine also elicited improved health behaviour in the experimental group.

"It's very difficult for children to make behavioural changes in the home," says Ms Kassim-Lakha. "We're not disappointed. These are tomorrow's parents and hopefully the behavioural changes will be introduced then." The students in standards 5 to 7 are between 12 and 15 years old. According to Ms Kassim-Lakha: "It will only be two to four years before these girls become parents." ■

Ania Wasilewski is a writer/editor in IDRC's Human Resources Division.

Article 7: "Chosen to Deliver" by Michele Chandler, *Africa News*, May 30, 1988.

"Chosen To Deliver"

HARARE - It was daybreak when traditional midwife Rebecca Mulakaza arrived at the one-room house in Nyamande village.

Inside the house, 28-year-old Mildred Katare's labor pains were coming quickly. The closest hospital was 25 miles south in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital. The nearest clinic was a three-mile walk down the narrow dirt path that is the village's main road.

Mulakaza pulled out a small bag containing the tools of her trade: some string, a razor blade, alcohol and a jar of Vaseline. She washed her hands with water drawn from an outside well and calmly went to work. Four hours later, when Mulakaza told Katare "to sit up on the bed and push the baby out," Katare's baby girl, Wendy, was born.

After delivery, Mulakaza cut the umbilical cord with the freshly-boiled razor, tied it with a clean string and dabbed alcohol on the stump. She oiled the baby with Vaseline, bathed the tired mother and later accompanied the pair to the community clinic for their post-birth examination.

This year, Mulakaza – who has been a traditional midwife in her rural community since 1962 – has delivered 16 babies. And because of the Zimbabwe government's newly intensified interest in the health care of mothers and infants, the midwife's techniques combine age-old practices with basic modern medical knowledge.

Zimbabwe's folk midwives are the subject of a nine-month study completed in December by Michigan State University researcher Barbara Sparks. The majority of the midwives Sparks interviewed were older married women who delivered babies in their extended families.

"They perform a tremendous service," Sparks, an assistant professor of obstetrics and gynecology at MSU's College of Osteopathic Medicine, says. "They believe their work is important."

And so, apparently, do the women they serve: although formal health care is increasingly available in Zimbabwe, an estimated 80% of all babies born here are delivered by midwives.

Mulakaza, 59, says she first learned her skills by watching other midwives at work and in "vivid dreams." But since 1983, she and approximately 10,000 other midwives have completed a ten-week, government-run course designed to teach them simple medical techniques.

"The feeling was that since the midwives were doing so many deliveries, the government might as well optimize their services," Sparks says. "They wanted to help the midwives do their deliveries better, to teach them hygiene and how to identify an abnormal pregnancy that should be sent to a clinic."

After finishing the class, the midwives receive badges that read "*Vanyamukuta*," which translates from the local Shona language as "the aunt who delivers the babies." By then, the women have learned why they must sterilize the makeshift instruments they use, the importance of washing their hands before attending to a woman giving birth, and methods for diagnosing potentially difficult pregnancies. And the training doesn't stop there. To make sure they retain the new skills, the midwives must also attend monthly review sessions.

The courses – which are designed with the help of Zimbabwe physicians – are taught at local clinics by state-certified nurses. Community residents recommend the most respected folk midwives for the program.

And the classes have made a difference in the quality of care midwives give, says Royce Nambela, the nurse in charge of the Chinamora clinic near Nyamande village. "The traditional midwives were doing deliveries before, but with the wrong methods," says Nambela, whose clinic serves 6,500 people.

By tradition, for example, the newborn's freshly-cut umbilical cord is rubbed with animal feces to help it dry. This practice has been blamed for several cases of infant tetanus at the Chinamora clinic.

During their course, folk midwives are taught to use alcohol to sterilize the navel area – and according to Nambela, no cases of infant tetanus have been seen at the clinic this year. "That also indicates the midwives really understand what they've learned and have changed their practices," Nambela says.

Part of the reason for the continuing importance of the midwives is that in the rural areas – where 80% of all Zimbabweans live – health care is still hard to come by. Nationwide, Zimbabwe averages one physician per 8,000 people, but the government estimates that there is only one physician per 100,000 people in rural areas. And while hundreds of nurse-run clinics have been built since independence, they are sometimes inaccessible to the country's rural population because of a lack of ready transportation. Rather than face a long ride to a clinic on a bumpy dirt

Article 7 (cont'd.)

road in an ox-drawn cart or wheelbarrow, some women elect to have their babies at home.

Many other women also choose midwives because they want to perpetuate traditions. "A lot of women are culturally more comfortable delivering in their homes," Sparks says. "The women I interviewed said they wanted to deal with their pain in privacy. They didn't want people to see them making funny faces."

Another bonus, as far as the mothers are concerned, is that supportive friends – often female relatives – are allowed to be in a women's home during the delivery, a practice forbidden in many Zimbabwe hospitals.

Women here also appear to be more at ease when their labor is attended by a traditional midwife. According to a 1984 study done by a University of Zimbabwe psychiatry professor, 100 of 104 rural women and 35 of 40 in the cities wanted a folk midwife with them during hospital and clinic births, even though they know that is not usually allowed.

For the most part, folk midwives have the somewhat cautious support of Zimbabwe's medical community. "In most cases, they are okay, because 90% of all pregnant women will deliver normally, no matter what," one Harare physician says.

Dr. Jonathan Kasule, the head of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Zimbabwe, adds, "In rural areas, they do serve a purpose, even though there is no official interaction between the hospital and the traditional birth attendants. But I don't think they'll ever be integrated formally."

Increasing numbers of women have come to hospitals and clinics for postnatal visits since the start of the midwives' training program, the ministry of health reports.

"We think the midwives are doing a good job because they're getting the women to go to the hospital after the birth. Before, that may not have been happening," said a ministry spokeswoman.

But along with the popularity of folk midwives, longstanding superstitions have persisted. Beliefs in witches and other evil-doers are ingrained in traditional Zimbabwe society and rural women often fear that the midwives are actually witches who will intentionally cause difficulties in the delivery process. For that reason, midwives are almost exclusively summoned very shortly before the birth.

"They tell their husbands to come and get me when it is time for the pains," says Enrieda Shoniwa, 55, who has been a traditional midwife in Nyamande village since 1960. "Before that, they do not talk about it."

There have been complaints about untrained midwives attending severely complicated deliveries. Sometimes their judgments have resulted in the deaths of mothers and infants. "I've seen one untrained midwife manage two women, both in labor and pushing, side-by-side," says Sparks. "I've also seen a four-pound, premature baby wrapped in a wet blanket who had not been fed for four hours. While there are some positive things, ... some things are very dangerous, and that concerns me."

On the positive side, more and more midwives are completing the government's training program.

But although they are gaining in stature as professionals, the women are not usually paid much for their services. Often they are given no more than $10 – or sugar, soap, milk or bread in lieu of cash. But as midwife Joyce Gabrielle – a 39-year-old who lives on a commercially-owned farm near Raffingora, 200 miles from Harare – explained, they consider their work an obligation to the community.

"I was chosen to deliver the babies. I have to do it," she says, adding, "I'll be delivering babies until I die."

- Michele Chandler

Midwife Joyce Gabrielle. Michele Chandler

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Article 8: "AIDS: African Origin Disputed." *Africa News*, June 13, 1988.

African Origin Disputed

Ask the average person where AIDS first started and the answer will likely be "Africa."

In recent years, much of the scientific as well as the popular literature dealing with the origins of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) – which is believed to cause AIDS – has pointed to Africa as the incubator of the disease.

That view will be debated this week at an international conference on AIDS in Stockholm, as increasing numbers of African scientists take issue with the research assumptions and methods that led to the theory of AIDS' African origins.

The case against those assumptions has been made most comprehensively by Richard and Rosalind Chirimuuta, whose book, *Aids, Africa and Racism*, was published recently in Britain.

The Chirimuutas argue that Western researchers have been more influenced than they realize by a pervasive racism that associates black people with "dirt, disease, ignorance and an animal-like sexual promiscuity." The result, the Chirimuutas say, is conclusions that have been reached by flawed research methods, questionable data and unscientific, illogical leaps from observations to conclusions.

Not only has Africa been accepted, without sufficient evidence, as the birthplace of AIDS, say the Chirimuutas, but there are indications that the incidence of the disease in Africa has been seriously overestimated.

In the highly charged atmosphere of AIDS discussions, such allegations are inevitably controversial. No country, region or people wants to be "blamed" for spreading a deadly plague – and no researcher wants to be accused of sloppy science. But African scientists like David Gazi of Zimbabwe have welcomed the challenge to the prevailing Western view.

That is not to say that all Western scientists have accepted the AIDS-from-Africa theory. An October 1985 article in the British medical journal *The Lancet* published the results of a West German study of blood serum collected from over 3,000 central, west and east Africans since 1981. "It would seem," the researchers concluded, "that the epidemic of AIDS in Africa started at about the same time as, or even later than, the epidemic in America and Europe."

A year later, the *British Medical Journal* published another West German study. This time, more than 6,000 African blood samples were tested for HIV antibodies. The findings, the researchers said, "do not support the hypothesis of the disease originating in Africa."

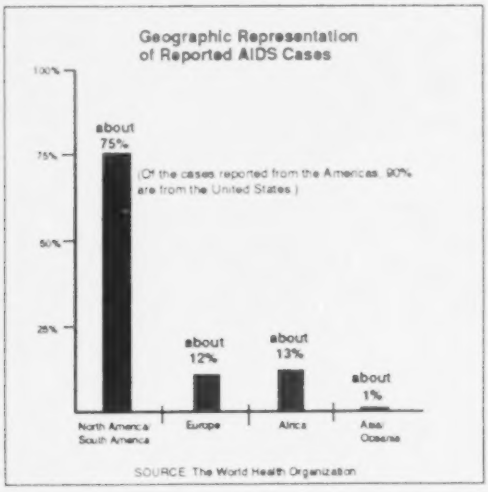
The widespread theory that the African green monkey somehow transmitted the AIDS virus to humans is also coming under closer scrutiny. In the June 2 issue of *Nature*, a British scientific periodical, Carel Mulder of the University of Massachusetts Medical School writes that differences in the viruses identified in monkeys and in humans indicate that "the human viruses cannot have originated from African green monkeys in recent times, as had been predicted by many people." Mulder says that claim "was usually based on what was very probably a case of mistaken identity" – the identification of the monkey virus with its human variant.

The idea that AIDS is bound to be an African catastrophe is also being challenged. In February, U.S. Agency for International Development official Gary Merritt told a Boston scientific conference that the success of important public health campaigns in Africa will be threatened if AIDS gets all the attention.

Although admitting that AIDS is already a "tragedy" in some African countries – as it is in the United States – Merritt said that concern about the disease should be matched by an equal emphasis on "child immunization and other programs that are just beginning to catch fire very rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa."

None of the critics of the conventional view of AIDS in Africa suggest that the problem is minimal. But the Chirimuutas argue persuasively that AIDS has been

Article 8 (cont'd.)



seen where it did not necessarily exist. Among their most scathing attacks is a critique of a series last year in the British *Guardian*.

"In 1980," writes reporter Peter Murtagh in an article on Kenya, "some of the prostitutes were tested for AIDS at their local sexually transmitted disease clinic. At that time, none was HIV positive. Three years later, 53 per cent were...."

The Chirimuutas point out that AIDS was first recognized in the United States in 1981, and that the AIDS blood test was only introduced in 1984.

But the Chirimuutas suggest that scientific publications have been as guilty as the press of indulging their authors' fancies. To support that claim, they cite a July 1984 article in *The Lancet* by prominent AIDS researchers. The study's authors visited Zaire, where they evaluated the clinical symptoms of some two dozen hospital patients, but did not do sophisticated diagnostic tests because of "limited facilities." The researchers concluded that the average rate of AIDS infection in Kinshasa, Zaire's capital, is "about 17 per 100,000." They say further that this "is a minimal estimate, and it is comparable with or higher than the rate in San Francisco or New York."

The Chirimuutas marvel at that conclusion. "On the basis of a three week study," they write, "with limited diagnostic facilities, an unscientific method and a sample size of less than 30 patients, Kinshasa's AIDS problem is worse than San Francisco's."

The Chirimuutas cite possible explanations for what they believe are inflated estimates of the number of African AIDS cases. Among them are studies suggesting that AIDS tests on Africans have an unusually high false positive rate – perhaps because diseases endemic in parts of Africa, such as malaria, may trigger a false result.

Whatever the accuracy of any theories about AIDS, the Chirimuutas build a strong case for reevaluating the data. "I think it's a very serious book," says Victoria Brittain, an editor at London's *Guardian*. "It deserves very careful study."

If nothing else, a conscientious questioning of former assumptions might make Africans feel less like scapegoats for a problem too critical to be treated as a political tool. ■

Article 9: "AIDS: New Threat to the Third World," by Lori Heise, *Seeds*, April 1988.

AIDS: New Threat to Third World

By Lori Heise

Historically, epidemics have been as profound an agent for societal change as wars. The smallpox virus that Cortez loosed upon the Aztecs was largely responsible for Spain's conquest of this mighty empire. The plague that ravaged 14th-century Europe ruptured the bonds of feudalism, upsetting the power balance between peasant and lord.

Today a new disease, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), threatens to have an impact of equal measure in parts of the third world. Unless brought under control, AIDS could undermine decades of progress toward improved health and sustained economic development.

By 1986, only five years after the virus was first identified, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that between 5 and 10 million people worldwide were HIV carriers. So rapidly is the infection spreading that WHO projects that within a decade 5 to 30 million people could be dead or dying of AIDS.

Assessing the scope of AIDS in developing countries is particularly difficult. Many third world governments—given competing priorities and limited resources—lack the diagnostic equipment and funds necessary for AIDS surveillance. Others fear that acknowledging AIDS cases could jeopardize the tourist revenues and foreign investment upon which their economies depend.

Studies from several African cities

Article 9 (cont'd.)

A deadly virus could unravel decades of development.

have documented a 2 to 20 percent rate of HIV infection among healthy adults, with women being exposed as often as men. This compares to a figure of 0.15 percent among U.S. military volunteers—the best comparable nationwide figure for Americans in the same age groups—and a figure of 2.9 percent for volunteers from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Thus the infection rate in some African cities is about 100 times higher than in the United States as a whole, and five times higher than in the New York region. And AIDS in Africa is no longer confined to the cities. In some rural areas, especially near main roads, from two to five percent of healthy adults and of pregnant women now test HIV positive.

Together these studies lead WHO to estimate that two million or more Africans carry the virus, making Africa the hardest hit continent in the world.

AIDS Spreads in the Third World

Unlike the industrial world where AIDS is primarily communicated through homosexual intercourse and the sharing of needles between drug addicts, an estimated three-fourths of AIDS transmission in Africa occurs through heterosexual contact. The remaining transmission occurs from mother to child during pregnancy or birth, and through exchange of infected blood during transfusions or reuse of needles by health care providers.

The overall rate of transmission is likely to remain greater in the Third World than in industrial countries because of certain realities of life there.

For example, researchers believe that the genital sores that commonly accompany other sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) increase chances of infection. Sadly, STDs are far more endemic in the Third World than in industrial countries and treatment is less accessible.

Many third world governments also do not have the equipment or the money necessary to test blood before transfusions, a form of HIV transmission largely eliminated in the United States and Europe. The United States spends $80 to 100 million a year ($6 to 8 per unit of blood) to protect its citizens from a relatively small risk of contracting HIV from transfusions. In Africa today the risk to blood recipients may be as high as one in ten, yet in many areas blood is still not screened.

Unfortunately, conditions also conspire to make transfusions more common in tropical Africa than in industrialized nations. Severe anemias, long delays between obstetric or other bleeding and arrival at hospital, and many serious road accidents make the amount of blood needed by African hospitals as much as three times greater than that required by general hospitals in the industrial world.

Developing countries desperately need a quick, inexpensive blood test for HIV that is not sensitive to heat. There is hope that a test newly developed by DuPont may be available for distribution this year.

In addition, underdevelopment promotes many forms of behavior that increase risks for transmission of the virus. For example, lack of economic opportunity in rural areas, political insecurity, famine, and war operate to increase the number of sexual partners of developing world citizens by displacing persons and separating families.

Likewise, medical overuse of transfusions in the absence of other remedies and the reuse of unsterile needles are practices of underdeveloped or overtaxed health care systems that encourage the spread of AIDS.

Unhygienic conditions resulting from poverty may intensify the impact of AIDS in many developing countries. It has been proposed that third world peoples—indeed poor people in general—may be more susceptible to AIDS because of prior and repeated exposures to other infections that overtax their immune systems.

Indeed, the poor in developing countries—more at risk and less able to protect themselves from HIV infection—will likely be disproportionately affected by AIDS, just as poor, urban blacks and Hispanics are in the United States.

In Africa, certain demographic characteristics may combine with poverty to make AIDS particularly difficult to control. Forty percent of the continent's population is in its sexually active years, a higher percentage than anywhere in the world. The proportion of African children moving from prepuberty into the years of sexual activity is likewise greater.

Article 10: "In Our Own Way: Third World Spreads the Word on AIDS" by Marty Radlett, *Panoscope*, May 1988.

"IN OUR OWN WAY": Third World spreads the word on AIDS

Marty Radlett

The AIDS prevention message is broadcast with a disco beat in Zaire and Guinea-Bissau; handed out in leaflets during Brazilian Carnival; preached from the pulpit and taught to schoolchildren in Uganda; written on the tee shirts of Zambian kids; dramatised in gatherings of prostitutes in Kenya; and hand-delivered by former drug users in New York City to the addicts, mostly black and Hispanic, still at risk. Designed and delivered by people from the communities which they are meant to help, successful Third World AIDS campaigns prove once again that when it comes to development, the real experts are the communities themselves.

Pop music says prevention

The lyrics of Franco Luambo's recent pop record "Attention na Sida" (Beware of AIDS) is not aimed just at young disco dancers. The lyrics urge clergy, teachers and parents to use their influence to teach society about AIDS. Parents "do not cover your faces (be ashamed)", the singer pleads, "tell these young ones all you know about and against AIDS".

An AIDS song contest in Guinea-Bissau packed a sports stadium and attracted 23 contestants. The winner of an all-expenses paid holiday to Lisbon sang in the local dialect about Maria, the girl with the beautiful body "who said yes to all men...after one, two, three years, she became so thin".

In developing countries where illiteracy rates may be high, music has the potential to reach the entire population — especially teenagers and young adults, the group most at risk from the AIDS virus in Africa and other parts of the world.

The Kenyan pop group, The Mushrooms, has put the AIDS message to music at the request of the ministry of health and the Kenyan Red Cross. The song has been recorded in English and Swahili and 2,000 copies have been given away free to radio and television stations, disc jockeys, and the public transport system.

From pulpit and podium

An overwhelming majority of Ugandans, 92%, regularly attend church services — one of the best places to reach the whole family with a message about the disease that, where it spreads heterosexually, can infect adults, teenagers and (where the mother is infected) babies. The Roman Catholic and Anglican ministries have adapted the official government slogan "Love Carefully" to "Love Faithfully". The Baptist Church distributes a "Good News Bible" with a special insert advising readers that the bible answers questions about AIDS by preaching sexual chastity and faithfulness, and to respond to people with AIDS with compassion.

Secondary school teachers are using puppets, role-playing, songs, posters and play-acting in the classroom to educate about AIDS. The purpose of the special teaching kit, supplied by the ministry of education, the AIDS Control Programme and UNICEF Kampala, is to inform young pupils about the risks and responsibilities of sex before they become sexually active. In some cases, female teachers meet separately with girls — and male teachers with boys — so that pupils feel free to ask questions about sex and reproduction without embarrassment.

All aspects of the AIDS epidemic are covered. Students learn the facts and they also learn the consequences of spreading rumours or refusing to care for ill family members: the quarrelsome family that rejects an AIDS patient does not give a proper burial, neighbours talk about their bad behaviour, and "the family breaks apart because they can no longer trust or care for each other".

Zambia's AIDS tee-shirt club

Students at the David Kaunda Secondary Technical School in Lusaka joined the country's AIDS offensive by forming an "Anti-AIDS" club. Members vow to abstain from sex until marriage and to protect relatives, friends and classmates by educating them about the disease, encouraging them to practise responsible sexual behaviour and to avoid prostitution. "AIDS Kills, Life is Precious" is printed on members' tee-shirts. The club has the support of the Ministry of Health, and the students hope the idea spreads to other schools so "young people ... keep themselves and their friends safe from this deadly disease".

"Women of the night" join the fight

A group of prostitutes in Nairobi, with HIV infection rates over 80% in 1987, decided they needed to learn how to control and prevent AIDS — with dramatic results. Kenya's chief nursing officer Elizabeth Ngugi spent many months meeting and getting to know the women who live in run-down apartment buildings and cater largely to truckdrivers who travel from Mombasa into Uganda and beyond.

The women elected a committee of those who had the best knowledge of condom use and AIDS prevention to share their knowledge and motivate others to use and promote condoms. Group and individual counselling allowed women to discuss their problems and consider solutions. Reluctance of the women to discuss sex openly was overcome through a song which was sung at public meetings, and the project uses role-playing and dramatisation with great success.

The result was a remarkable rise in condom use: 50% of the women insist their clients use condoms all the time and another 40% report occasional use. The rate of new HIV infections has declined significantly. And the women have been encouraging their clients to use condoms with all their partners.

Session 5: The Military Connection

Goal: To establish greater awareness among participants of the linkages between the U.S. and Africa on militarism.

Session Length: Approximately 2 hours, 15 minutes.

In a manner similar to Session 4, this session encourages participants to look at military spending and its relationship to local communities in the United States and to the African context. Facts on militarism in the U.S. and in Africa are juxtaposed to provide a context for global understanding. Militarism has been selected as a topic of special scrutiny, because it's an area where an educated population and redirected leadership in the U.S. can make an significant difference in creating conditions for peace both here and in Africa.

For example, the land mines that have been planted by insurgent forces in fields, along paths, near wells and villages in Angola, maiming thousands of civilians (particularly women and children) have been supplied to the South Africa-supported UNITA rebel forces by the U.S. This particular anti-personnel weapon, called the Claymore mine, was manufactured in Shreveport, Louisiana. It was used extensively in Vietnam. In Angola, it is a weapon not used between armies, but by rebel forces against the people with enormous psychological impact. U.S.-manufactured Stinger missiles have also been supplied on a regular basis to UNITA. This situation bears a striking resemblance to U.S. aid to the contra rebels in Nicaragua. U.S. taxpayers can apply pressure to put an end to the perpetuation of the cycles of war and ensuing poverty and famine encouraged by U.S. military assistance.

Activities:

- Participants learn about how military spending affects their own local community.
- They share what they learned from the readings about militarism in the African context.
- Through an inquiry process, they may find that similar dynamics on military spending link their community here in the United States with those in Africa.
- They will outline the kinds of action responses to the issues emerging from their analysis.
- They announce up-coming Africa-related events; share findings on the local Africa resource network.
- They set the agenda for Session 6, and designate responsibilities.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- African foods brought by participants
- easel and newsprint to mark participants' questions, responsibilities
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- video player

Recommended Videos:

Women and Children First — the Human Cost of the Arms Race

This video makes connections between runaway military spending and increased poverty among women and children in the United States and worldwide. (21 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Witness to Apartheid

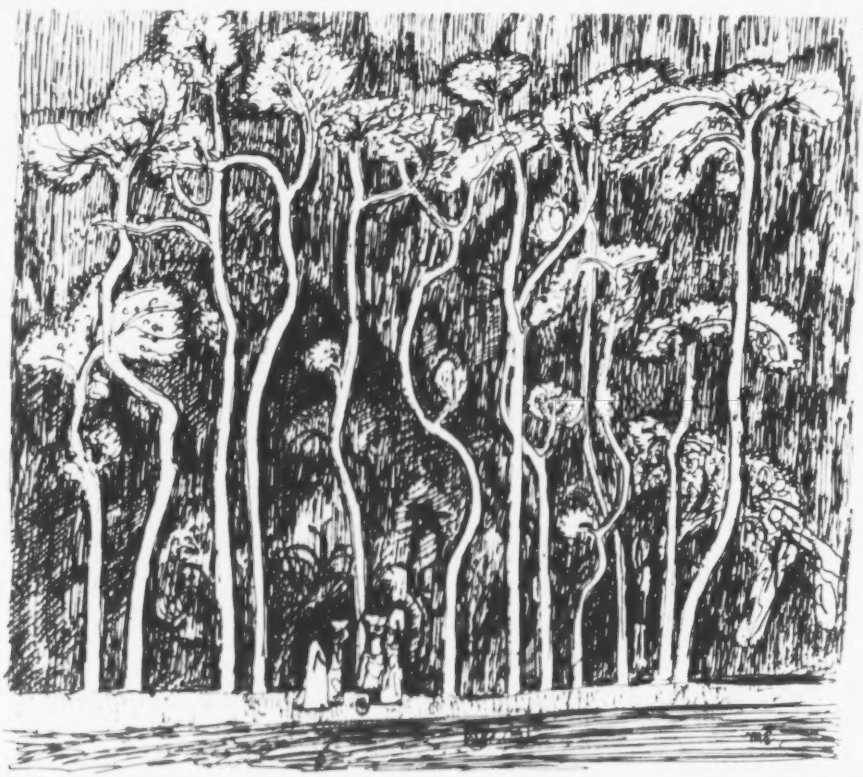
In this video, victims of South Africa's institutionalized racism — those who dare — tell their stories. A very graphic, moving presentation. (36 or 56 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.

Destructive Engagement

This explosive documentary criss-crosses the Front Line States — Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia — in an unprecedented investigation of South Africa's regional war. (52 minutes)

Available for rent free of charge from the Film Library, Church World Services, P.O. Box 968, 28606 Phillips St., Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 264-3102.



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Session Outline:

1. **Presentation on how military spending affects the local community (40 minutes)**
   - Facts about the impact of military spending in the U.S. and ideas for local inquiry are provided in the introduction to the readings below.
   - A group participant or a speaker from the local area is invited to provide a presentation on how militarism (i.e. defense spending) affects the local community. Use of any relevant articles or handouts is greatly encouraged.
   - Particularly relevant is information on how militarism affects different population groups on the local level, and what role is played by racism and discrimination against so-called "minority" cultures.
   - This presentation (approx. 15 minutes long) will be followed by a question and answer period for participants (15 minutes).
   - Using a flipchart, participants will then list the priority areas of local concern on the issue (10 minutes). (After completion of this activity may be the ideal moment to take a short break for refreshments).

2. **Presentations on the readings (30 minutes):**

   After consulting the facts on Africa contained in the introduction to the readings and briefing each other on the articles (if all participants have not already read them), participants will prepare a list (also on flipchart paper) of what they feel are priority areas of concern for militarism in Africa.

3. **Discussion on possible linkages between Africa and the local context on militarism and appropriate action responses (30 minutes)**

   Comparing the lists of local vs. Africa areas of concern, the participants clarify the linkages that emerge. What kinds of action responses would be responsive to these concerns?

4. **Updates on the local African resource network (10 minutes)**

   As with every session, the facilitator asks participants to announce:
   - progress on the list of African resources in the area (people; the local network of African arts; area organizations and coalitions; and relevant libraries and resource centers).
   - recent articles and media coverage on Africa (clippings should be shared on a bulletin board).
   - up-coming Africa-related events (speakers, movies, exhibits, films, festivals, etc.)

5. **Setting the agenda for Session 6: Where do we go from here? (10 minutes)**

   Before leaving, all participants should know what their responsibilities are for the next session. They should:
   - set a time, place and duration for Session 6
   - designate facilitator(s) if necessary
   - assign reading of the session activities to all participants
   - nominate person(s) who will bring African-style refreshments to the next meeting.

Facts About the Military in the United States:

Since World War II, the U.S. economy has relied heavily on the defense industry. Increased dependency on the military sector has led to the promotion of militaristic responses to situations of conflict both domestically and overseas, a tendency to seek military solutions to social problems. This is true for U.S. policy in Africa and other parts of the Third World, as much as for gang wars and drug-related violence in our urban areas. Ruth Leger Sivard's *World Military and Social Expenditures* reveals to us the following facts concerning militarism:

- Annual expenditures on the military in the U.S. throughout the 1980s has been between $225 to $250 billion, the highest level of military expenditures in the world.
- Increasingly, the U.S. Government has put money into military research: a 1988 estimate by the National Science Foundation estimated that $47 billion went into military research, while $4 billion and $17 billion respectively went to space and civilian research.
- Over $4 billion are spent each year through U.S. firms to provide security assistance to developing nations, stimulating our economy at the same time that we strengthen strategic global alliances. (Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs).
- From 1970 to 1980, the overall budget deficit grew steadily, proportionately with the increase in the national defense budget.

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) and Ruth Leger Sivard (RLS), have outlined the following alternatives to spending for military purposes:

- Elimination of the National Boards for the Promotion of Rifle Practice: This Board no longer serves a military purpose and has become identified with handgun peddlers. Savings, $4 million a year — enough to buy nearly 10 million mid-afternoon snacks for preschoolers in child care. (CDF)
- Stop Forgiving Loans for Foreign Military Sales: Each year we "forgive" about $4 billion in loans to foreign governments to cover weapons purchased from us. Ceasing to export "forgiveness" would save about $4 billion a year — enough to fund Head Start for every poor three- and four-year-old child. (CDF)
- The cost of 50 MX "Peacekeepers" equals a year's cost of U.S. health programs for long-term home care for about 1 million chronically-ill children and elderly in the U.S. ($4,540,000,000). (RLS)
- The cost of a Trident submarine equals that of a 5-year program for universal child immunization against 6 deadly diseases, preventing one million deaths a year ($1,436,000,000). (RLS)
- The cost of two fighter aircraft equals the cost of installing 300,000 hand pumps to give villages access to safe water in Africa ($45,000,000). (RLS)
- One nuclear weapon test equals the cost of training 40,000 community health workers in Africa ($12,000,000). (RLS)
- The cost of two infantry combat vehicles equals that of a year's supply of nutrition supplements for 5,000 pregnant women at risk ($1,000,000). (RLS)
- The cost of operating a B-1 bomber for one hour equals that of community-based maternal health care in 10 African villages to reduce maternal deaths by half in a decade ($21,000). (RLS)
- The cost of 9mm personal defense weapon — a military pistol — equals that of a year's supply of vitamin A capsules for 1,000 pre-school children at risk ($212). (RLS)

Facts About the Military in Africa:

- More than half of African nations are military-controlled governments. This means key political leadership is exercised by military officers, the existence of a state of marital law, extrajudicial authority exercised by security forces, lack of central political control over armed forces, or occupation by foreign military forces.
- Cameroon, Chad, Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Tunisia, as well as "freedom fighters" (such as Jonas Savimbi and UNITA in Angola) are recipients of U.S. military assistance. (Other major suppliers include the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, and China).
- U.S. and/or NATO Allies have forces in twelve African nations.
- Atrocities in the Southern Africa Frontline States, Western Sahara, and the Horn are made worse through military supplies from U.S.
- Developing nations (particularly certain African nations such as Zaire) supply 72% of our strategic minerals and other raw materials critical to our industry and security (Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs).
- On the whole, public expenditures for the military are higher than for education and health for African nations.

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Ideas for Local Inquiry: Military Instead of Social Programs Spending

- What military installations exist in your local area? What kind of installations are they?
- Who works at these installations?
- Have any people been displaced in order to accommodate these military installations? Who are they?
- Are any weapons manufactured in your area? What kind of weapons are they? Are any of these weapons exported? Do any of them end up in Africa?
- What would happen if the money put into defense would be channeled into jobs, housing, education, health care? Who would benefit? Who would suffer in your community (in terms of lost jobs) from such a change? Does this represent an alternative future for your community?
- Are there any firms with Department of Defense contracts? What kinds of research/consulting services do they do? How are they beneficial/harmful to your community? Do any of their activities relate to Africa?
- Are there any war toys manufacturers in your area? How do they advertise their products?
- How is the military portrayed in the local media? Is there an alternative press that addresses military issues?
- What kinds of organizations and coalitions exist that are opposing military presence in your community? What success have they had in organizing? What kinds of obstacles have they encountered?
- Do the kinds of alternatives mentioned by the Children's Defense Fund and Ruth Leger Sivard make sense for your community to advocate?
- How are social problems in your community connected to the military presence?

Through this inquiry, what conclusions can you make:

1) concerning specific problem areas relating to military expenditures in your community?

2) concerning connections with Africa on militarism?

3) What kind of action in response to this issue would you recommend and participate in?

Overview of the Readings for Session 5: The Military Connection

In stark contrast to the Africa where hospitality, charity, and close family ties are highly valued, there is another Africa: one of invasions, civil wars, conflicts of varying intensity, and coups d'état. Militarization — the process of building up military forces — has become a way of life in areas all over Africa.

More than half of the 54 countries and disputed territories in Africa are under military rule. African nations continue to allocate an overwhelming percentage of their constrained budgets to their military forces rather than education and health forces (teachers and nurses). War always takes its highest toll on civilian populations, who are forced to leave their homes, land and livelihood on a moment's notice to seek safety on paths often littered with explosive land mines. War and conflict have led to as many as 10 million refugees and hundreds of thousands of victims of famine and starvation on the African continent.

Pre-colonial Africa may have had a history of regional, ethnic, and religious conflicts, and of indigenous empire-building. However, colonial conquest, made possible with the introduction of guns, has clearly exacerbated warfare in Africa. The past century alone has seen the delineation of mostly artificial national borders, massive changes in the distribution of resources and wealth, the imposition of Westernized political systems, and ready accessibility of sophisticated weaponry.

Even today, industrialized nations are all but neutral in situations of conflict in Africa. With colorful images of military pomp and notorious military leaders (e.g. Col. Moammar al Qaddafi and Idi Amin), the media has done much to sensationalize — though rarely accurately explain — the role militarization plays on the continent. With the exception perhaps of Southern African, the international media only occasionally highlights the horrors of war; conflicts in less known areas, such as the Western Sahara and Chad, hardly exist in the eyes of the world. President Bush's pledge to support Jonas Savimbi and the UNITA terrorist "freedom fighters" in Angola before his inauguration day demonstrates the extent of United States government intervention on African soil.

The continent's wealthiest nation, South Africa, continues to harbor a white minority regime that withholds the most basic human rights from its black majority population. Possibilities for a non-violent solution to abolishing apartheid remain unclear. The struggle for the right to speak one's own language, to exchange books and ideas, to obtain equal pay for equal work, and to own land are the powerful roots from which the South African people's Freedom Charter and the African National Congress (ANC) have grown.

Through military and police coercion and a system of pass laws and race classification, the South African regime has forced the removal of massive numbers of South African blacks to prisons, townships, house arrest, and the barren Bantustans, the "Bantu homelands." Basic information about apartheid is found in article 1. The glossary helps clarify some concepts basic to understanding apartheid.

Excerpts from Alan Paton's landmark novel (article 2) remind us how little has changed in South Africa over the past four decades. Paton decries the violation of a land and its people: "Cry the beloved country for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear. Let him not love the earth too deeply." These words haunt us as much today as when they were written in 1948.

The stubborn unwillingness to release Nelson Mandela (ANC leader jailed for 27 years), declaration of a state of emergency, ban of foreign journalists, afflicted national economy, and recent transition of power from Pieter W. Botha to Frederik W. de Klerk, clearly demonstrate that all is not calm within the white minority regime. A rising number of white South African men refuse to serve in the army and choose to go to jail rather than be forced to defend apartheid. The "End Conscription Campaign" described in article 3, is an example of dissenting white South Africans who are also at the core of the fight against apartheid rule.

South African militarization extends to neighboring countries known as the Frontline States. The brutal destabilization campaign in Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Angola (article 4) is managed by South Africa-backed terrorist organizations such as UNITA and RENAMO, which, both directly and indirectly have received military assistance from the United States. Peasant farmers, children, and the elderly are most often the victims of this kind of terror.

In 1989, newspapers, journals, and television networks heralded the forthcoming independence of Africa's "last colony," Namibia. Namibia's history, its original occupation by the German Empire, make for a "troubled past" described in article 5. South Africa has spent over $1 million a day to maintain its economic and military domination in Namibia. As Namibia's first general elections approaches, Sam Nujoma, president of the Namibian independence movement SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) who has spent 30 years in exile, has great hopes for the future.

Significant pressure on the apartheid regime comes from outside the region. Article 6 describes the U.S. lobby against apartheid Stronger economic sanctions, broader education of members of Congress and the U.S. population, and continuation of boycotts are foremost on their agenda.

Not only southern Africa, but also the Horn of Africa has become increasingly conflict-ridden. Article 7 provides an overview of the war zones in this region. A Sudanese scholar (article 8) explains the key factors that led to the civil war and massive starvation in Sudan, Africa's largest nation. These include the unequal distribution of development resources (a trend that began under colonial rule), reinforced by international interference, and racial and religious tensions. The government has consistently provided much-needed resources to develop an infrastructure to the north of Sudan. Meanwhile, long-neglected cities, towns and villages in southern Sudan have deteriorated to a point where they are almost uninhabitable. Although the solution lies in restructuring the government to reflect a commitment to pluralism and a fair distribution of scarce resources, the Sudanese people have taken to heavy internal fighting, armed with imported weapons.

The Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict described in article 9 has the dubious distinction as the longest ongoing war in Africa — 28 years, claiming more than 500,000 lives. Eritrea, formerly an Italian colony, was illegally annexed to Ethiopia by Emperor Haile Selassi in 1962, upon which the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the best organized movements for self-determination in Africa, took up armed resistance. An entire generation of Eritreans has grown up in wartime conditions. Children attend schools in underground caverns and farmers cultivate at night and camouflage their homes to protect them from air attacks by Ethiopian fighter planes. A resolution to the conflict may be near, as Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam and Eritrean representatives have agreed to negotiate with the mediation of former President Carter.

The war in the Western Sahara may be the world's least publicized conflict. It has been ongoing since 1973. At the heart of the dispute is control of precious minerals (particularly phosphate) under desert soil, the discovery of which has increased tenfold the stakes for control of a once forgotten region. With the help of France, the U.S. and Israel, Morocco has built fortified, guarded walls to enclose the mining centers in territories belonging to the Western Sahara. Over the past few years, hopes for a resolution of this conflict have risen and fallen, as Morocco and the Polisario (representing the Western Sahara people) periodically declare their readiness to negotiate and then fall back to fighting.

Ironically, the U.S. and European nations, the most vociferous preachers of human rights, play a key role in supplying certain governments or "freedom fighters" with military advisors, hardware, and even troops. The provision of food, too, has become a weapon in the military game. Such facts force us to look at the role that we, as United States citizens, must play in advocating a peaceful and conflict-free Africa.

Article 1: The Washington Office on Africa Education Fund. "Understanding Apartheid," "Apartheid's Grand Design: The Bantustans," and "Glossary." South Africa Information Packet.

UNDERSTANDING APARTHEID

Definition

Apartheid (pronounced apart-hate) is a word meaning 'apart' or 'separate.' It is the system of legalized racism in the Republic of South Africa. Under apartheid, all persons in South Africa are classified by the color of their skin into the following races: African; White (persons of European descent); Colored (persons of racially mixed descent); and Asian (mostly persons of Indian descent). Although there are only 4.5 million whites, under the repressive system of apartheid, they control every aspect of life for the 24 million blacks (including Africans, Coloreds, and Asians).

History

Since 1652, when whites first entered South Africa, they have inflicted racial oppression on the blacks living there. The whites are comprised of two main groups: The Afrikaners (those of Dutch ancestry) and the English (those of British ancestry). Because of superior weapons, the Europeans were able to win the continual wars they waged against the African population. The whites stripped the blacks of their land and livelihood. From the beginning all black resistance was brutally crushed, and blacks were forced to submit to laws established and controlled by the whites. By 1948, the National Party, dominated by the Afrikaners, was elected to power by the white minority on a platform of further strengthening white supremacy. Under this government, South Africa has institutionalized its oppressive apartheid policies to maintain total white control.

Apartheid in action

Under apartheid blacks are denied all political, economic and social rights. By law they are denied the right to vote, to receive a decent education or decent employment. They are forced to live in inferior housing and have inferior hospitals. They are told where they may live, whom they may marry, on what buses they may ride and which churches they may attend. The white government controls every black person through a sophisticated computer network requiring all blacks over the age of 16 to carry a "*passbook*" **at all times.** The passbook contains fingerprints, a photograph, and employment records. If it is not produced upon demand, blacks are jailed and fined. More than 13 million Africans have been convicted of pass law offenses since the National Party came to power in 1948—**almost 1,000 every day!**

The whites gained control over blacks in South Africa by taking their land. Today under apartheid, the most fertile and mineral rich land, 87 percent of the country, is set aside for the white minority, while 13 percent of the poorest land is left for the black majority. Under apartheid laws no black is allowed to own land in areas restricted for whites only. Some blacks are allowed to live in black townships near the urban areas, but they are not allowed to purchase land. Blacks who have purchased land that is later designated a "*black spot*" in a "white area" are stripped of their ownership and forcibly removed to areas designated for Africans. Their communities are bulldozed or burned.

The areas designated to Africans have been divided into ten barren reservations called "*bantustans*." These bantustans are in remote rural areas where there are no cities, no jobs, no access to health or educational facilities, and the land cannot support even minimal farming. At present approximately 50 percent of the African population lives in the bantustans. Of the ten bantustans, the apartheid government has declared a phony "independence" for four of them, thus stripping blacks of rghts to citizenship **in their own country.**

Exploited Labor

Since the land which was their livelihood was taken, the blacks have been forced to work in an economy geared only toward white profit. The apartheid economy could not run without cheap black labor, but the blacks

Article 1 (cont'd.)

receive no benefits from that economy. Black workers are paid less than one-third of what whites are paid for doing the same job. Over 60 percent of urban black families earn less than the white government says is necessary to survive. Rural blacks are even worse off. Since there is little work in the bantustans, Africans are forced to leave their families and look for work in the "white areas" in order to survive. They work in the mines, factories, farms, and homes of white South Africa, while living outside the "white areas" in single-sex dormatories. These workers often work for 11 months out of the year and see their families for only 1 month. **Apartheid destroys black family life in South Africa.**

Blacks who do find jobs often work under very unsafe conditions and are not allowed to supervise whites. Yet, blacks have not had the means to work for better conditions. Independent black trade unions were illegal until 1978. Since then, the growing strength of black trade unions has forced some government concessions, but strikes and boycotts are still often suppressed by force. Labor leaders are harassed, detained, and sometimes tortured or killed while in detention by the South African police.

APARTHEID'S GRAND DESIGN: the bantustans

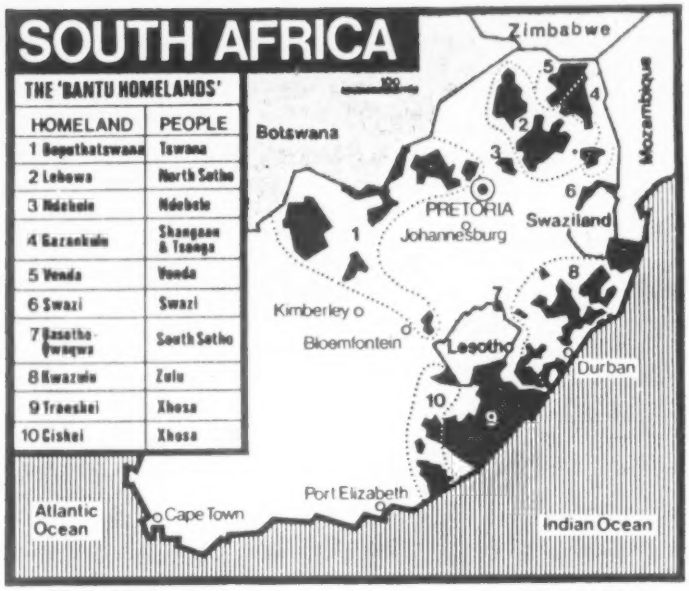
"The Bantustans are to us what concentration camps and ovens were to the Jews."
—The Rev. Sipo Mzimela, exiled South African pastor

The South African government's policy is to preserve white power through its legalized system of racism known as apartheid. The grand design of apartheid is the long term plan to forcibly remove blacks from their homes and place them in barren reserves, called "*bantustans*." All blacks who are considered "unnecessary" to the apartheid labor system are forced to live in these desolate and forgotten wastelands which make up only 13 percent of South Africa's land. Thus, although whites make up only 16 percent of the total population, they control 87 percent of the land. The white-controlled land includes all of the country's most fertile farms, cities and rich mineral deposits. The 13 percent of the land which makes up the bantustans is barren, soil-eroded and not suitable for farming or cattle raising.

The South African government forces blacks to live in these bantustans through a policy of *forced removals*. Between 1960 and 1984, the South Africa government has removed over 3½ million blacks from the "white areas" to the bantustans. If communities resist a government-planned removal, even though they legally own the land on which they live, they are taken from their home—often at gunpoint—and their homes, churches and schools are bulldozed to the ground by the government. Entire families are taken to their designated bantustan and dumped there on small plots of land with only a tin toilet to mark their new "address."

Article 1 (cont'd.)

The white South African government's strategy is to divide the black people by their ethnic origin and force them into ten separate bantustans. Blacks cannot leave these bantustans without permission from the white government. The white government has declared four of these bantustans "independent" (Venda, Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana) and stripped the black citizens of their South African citizenship. No country in the world has recognized these bantustans as legitimate governments. Their so-called "leaders" are hand picked and paid by the South African government, which controls their defense, economic policy and monetary system. The bantustan "officials" have only an advisory role, no real power or control. They are simply a front to hide the true character of the bantustans as concentration camps.



Map of bantustans

Map SECHABA

The bantustans are economic disaster areas. South Africa attempts to hide this fact by showcasing certain areas such as Sun City in Bophuthatswana. This is a huge entertainment resort area where many US entertainers have performed. The government of South Africa spends millions to recruit performers such as Frank Sinatra and others to help legitimize its bantustan policy.

Impact on workers

Apartheid has created a labor system in which Africans must "migrate" from the bantustans to work and live in the "white areas" away from their families. The system is designed to create a pool of cheap labor and to ensure a steady flow of black labor from the rural areas to the urban areas. The government ensures that there are no jobs in the bantustans or any viable means for blacks to support themselves. Therefore, blacks are forced to accept any job offered to them no matter what the working conditions or salary level.

For blacks who find jobs in the "white areas," living conditions are oppressive. Workers are forced to live in single-sex hostels away from their families. They can

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Article 1 (cont'd.)

only return to their families once or twice a year. These hostels are cramped and disease-ridden and destroy workers' dignity. Workers must support themselves and their far-off families on their meager salaries. If they lose their jobs they are dumped back in the bantustans. This policy ensures a poorly paid, steady supply of black labor for white South Africa.

Impact on families

Another tragedy of forced removals is that it not only means the loss of jobs or the prospects of getting one, but it also destroys black families. Even if the entire family is resettled onto a bantustan, the conditions there are so squalid that the men must return to the "white areas" to find work to prevent their families from starving. The daily economic reality for the vast majority of people left living in the bantustans (mainly women and children) is the struggle to survive on the meager corn and millet produced on poor and eroded land. **Half of the children in the bantustans die before they reach the age of five.** These areas contain no adequate housing, education, or health facilities.

Many women and children, in an effort to escape these conditions, ignore the stringent "pass laws" prohibiting them from joining their husbands and fathers in the "white areas" and settle in large squatter camps on the edges of urban centers. The government's response has been swift and brutal. Squatter camps have been teargassed, bulldozed to the ground with the inhabitants beaten, arrested, fined and dumped back in the desolate bantustans. But men and women continue to take this risk to find jobs or to be near their loved ones.

Political Impact

The bantustan policy of the South African government is a political version of the "divide and rule" strategy. The purpose of the policy is to divide the black population into ethnic groups and separate them from each other to prevent them from mounting political opposition to apartheid. The government intends to move all the blacks out of "white South Africa" to the bantustans by the year 2000, in order to make South Africa a totally white country where blacks can claim no political rights at all. The bantustan policy also serves to break institutional ties which hold the black population together—family, schools, and the church. This makes it difficult for the blacks to launch a united struggle against apartheid.

The bantustan policy is being used for expanding and maintaining white supremacy in South Africa while preventing political action by blacks.

GLOSSARY

African National Congress (ANC)—South African liberation movement founded in 1912 to struggle for a free and just South Africa. Banned by the government and forced underground in 1961.

Afrikaans—A dialect of the Dutch language spoken by Afrikaners in South Africa.

Afrikaners—White South Africans of Dutch descent who established the apartheid system. Afrikaners make up 60 percent of the white population.

Apartheid—South Africa's system of legalized racism. Apartheid denies all civil and human rights to the black majority and ensures the supremacy of whites.

Banning—A form of house arrest by which the government silences its critics. Banned individuals cannot be published or quoted, and their movements are restrained.

Bantustans—Name for barren wastelands making up only 13 percent of South Africa's land, which the South African government has declared the only places where Africans can live permanently.

Bantu—White South Africa's racist term for black people, the majority of the population.

Black Consciousness Movement—A movement banned by the South African government which stresses pride in African heritage. It insists that blacks must take the initiative in their struggle for freedom.

Black Spot—Land in rural areas occupied by blacks, sometimes for generations, in "whites only" areas of South Africa. These communities are the first target of forced removals.

Black Township—The "blacks only" part of urban areas in South Africa. Townships are far from jobs, overcrowded with poor housing, little electricity or plumbing, and no sewage system.

Divestment—The withdrawal of funds from corporations and banks which support apartheid by doing business in or with South Africa.

Forced Removals—The South African police will drag blacks off their land, often at gunpoint, and bulldoze communities declared to be "white" areas. Over 3.5 million blacks have been forcibly removed since 1960.

Article 1 (cont'd.)

FRELIMO—Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Governing party in Mozambique which freed it from Portuguese rule in 1975.

Frontline States—Countries neighboring South Africa which present a united front against apartheid. These states include: *Angola* (an-GO-lah), *Botswana* (boat-SWA-nah), *Mozambique* (mow-zam-BEEK), *Tanzania* (tan-zah-NEE-ah), *Zambia* (ZAM-bee-ah) and *Zimbabwe* (zim-BOB-way).

Homeland—South African government's term for portions of land designated for blacks; bantustan.

Lesotho—(leh-SOO-too) a small country completely surrounded by South Africa.

Liberation Movements—Movements in Southern Africa which are dedicated to fight for justice and political freedom.

Migrant Laborers—Those forced to leave their homes and families in rural bantustans to find employment in urban centers of "white" South Africa.

MPLA—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; the governing party in Angola which freed it from Portuguese rule in 1975.

MNR—Mozambique National Resistance. A South Africa-supported terrorist group infamous for cutting off peoples' ears, noses and lips, sometimes murdering them, as well as burning crops and bombing bridges.

Namibia—(nah-MIB-ee-ah) The country which South Africa's military has occupied since 1915. Namibia was formerly called South West Africa.

National Party—The ruling party in South Africa led by the Afrikaners. It came to power in 1948 on a platform of white supremacy, legalized apartheid and stripped blacks of all rights.

Nkomati Peace Accord—By supporting the MNR and carrying out sabotage against its neighbors, South Africa has forced Mozambique to sign agreements which forbid it to militarily support ANC and PAC. However, South Africa has not carried out its promise to end support for the MNR mercenaries.

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)—South African liberation movement founded in 1959 based on black nationalism. Banned by the government in 1961.

Passbook—A document all blacks must carry at all times. Whites are not required to have one. Failure to carry a passbook results in arrest and jail for blacks.

Pass Laws/Influx Control Laws—Laws which control the movement of blacks. These laws forbid blacks to live in "white" areas and help the white government control workers.

Pretoria—The capital city of white South Africa. Also refers to the South African government.

Race Classification—Apartheid laws divide South Africans into four racial groups: *Africans*—people of African descent (72 percent of the population), *Coloreds*—people of mixed race (9 percent of the population), *whites*—people of European descent (16 percent of the population), and *Asians*—mostly persons of Indian descent (about 3 percent of the population).

Sharpeville Massacre—On March 21, 1960 ,the police shot and killed 69 blacks who were peacefully demonstrating against the pass laws.

South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)—The liberation movement fighting to free Namibia since 1966.

Soweto—A black township outside of Johannesburg. Over 2 million blacks live in this impoverished township.

Soweto Uprising—On June 16, 1976, South African police gunned down students in Soweto who were peacefully demonstrating against apartheid education. This began a series of protests and clashes with police around the country; over 600 people were killed.

Subsistence Farming—Raising only enough food to meet basic needs. Most people who live in bantustans cannot grow enough food to maintain good health.

Sullivan Principles—A "fair employment code" for US businesses operating in South Africa, started by Rev. Leon Sullivan in 1976 while he was on the Board of General Motors. The code is used by the corporations to hide their support for apartheid.

Swaziland—(SWA-zee-land) A small, land-locked nation between South Africa and Mozambique.

UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. A South Africa-supported group created to overthrow and destabilize the government of Angola.

Article 2: From *Cry the Beloved Country* by Alan Paton.

CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY

* * * * *

And some cry for the cutting up of South Africa without delay into separate areas, where white can live without black, and black without white, where black can farm their own land and mine their own minerals and administer their own laws. And others cry away with the compound system, that brings men to the towns without their wives and children, and breaks up the tribe and the house and the man, and they ask for the establishment of villages for the labourers in mines and industry.

And the churches cry too. The English-speaking churches cry for more education, and more opportunity, and for a removal of the restrictions on native labour and enterprise. And the Afrikaans-speaking churches want to see the native people given opportunity to develop along their own lines, and remind their own people that the decay of family religion, where the servants took part in family devotions, has contributed in part to the moral decay of the native people. But there is to be no equality in church or state.

* * * * *

Yes, there are a hundred, and a thousand voices crying. But what does one do, when one cries this thing, and one cries another? Who knows how we shall fashion a land of peace where black outnumbers white so greatly? Some say that the earth has bounty enough for all, and that more for one does not mean less for another, that the advance of one does not mean the decline of another. They say that poor-paid labour means a poor nation, and that better-paid labour means greater markets and greater scope for industry and manufacture. And others say that this is a danger, for better-paid labour will not only buy more but will also read more, think more, ask more, and will not be content to be forever voiceless and inferior.

Who knows how we shall fashion such a land? For we fear not only the loss of our possessions, but the loss of our superiority and the loss of our whiteness. Some say it is true that crime is bad, but would this not be worse? Is it not better to hold what we have, and to pay the price of it with fear? And others say, can such fear be endured? For is it not this fear that drives men to ponder these things at all?

* * * * *

We do not know, we do not know. We shall live from day to day, and put more locks on the doors, and get a fine fierce dog when the fine fierce bitch next door has pups, and hold on to our handbags more tenaciously; and the beauty of the trees by night, and the raptures of lovers under the stars, these things we shall forego. We shall forego the coming home drunken through the midnight streets, and the evening walk over the star-lit veld. We shall be careful, and knock this off our lives, and knock that off our lives, and hedge ourselves about with safety and precaution. And our lives will shrink, but they shall be the lives of superior beings; and we shall live with fear, but at least it will not be a fear of the unknown. And the conscience shall be thrust down; the light of life shall not be extinguished, but be put under a bushel, to be preserved for a generation that will live by it again, in some day not yet come; and how it will come, and when it will come, we shall not think about at all.

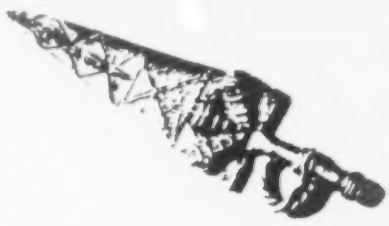
* * * * *

They are holding a meeting in Parkwold tonight, as they held one last night in Turffontein, and will hold one tomorrow night in Mayfair. And the people will ask for more police, and for heavier sentences for native housebreakers, and for the death penalty for all who carry weapons when they break in. And some will ask for a new native policy, that will show the natives who is the master, and for a curb on the activities of Kafferboeties and Communists.

And the Left Club is holding a meeting too, on "A Long-term Policy for Native Crime," and has invited both European and non-European speakers to present a symposium. And the Cathedral Guild is holding a meeting too, and the subject is "The Real Causes of Native Crime." But there will be a gloom over it, for the speaker of the evening, Mr. Arthur Jarvis, has just been shot dead in his house at Parkwold.

* * * * *

Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear. Let him not love the earth too deeply. Let him not laugh too gladly when the water runs through his fingers, nor stand too silent when the setting sun makes red the veld with fire. Let him not be too moved when the birds of his land are singing, nor give too much of his heart to a mountain or a valley. For fear will rob him of all if he gives too much.



Article 3: "Not I, Says the Brother of the Soldier" by Carmel Rickard, *Africa News*, Aug. 22, 1988.

When 143 young white men declared publicly this month that they will not serve in the South African Defense Force (SADF), among the reasons they cited were the experiences of South African soldiers in Namibia and Angola.

The announcement was made at simultaneous press conferences around the country during the annual military call-up of conscripts; it followed by a week the sentencing of draftee David Bruce to six years in prison for refusing military service.

In an angry response, the minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, accused the End Conscription Campaign, which helped coordinate the refusals, of threatening state security.

Malan said the group is the "vanguard of those forces that are intent on wrecking the present dispensation and its renewal." He warned that "no citizen can decide of his or her free will which laws to respect. National security is the top priority for South Africa and is above political prejudice."

Those rejecting military service argue that the SADF is itself pursuing narrow political aims. Stephen Louw, age 23, said the two years he had already served in the army – which he had once thought to make a career – taught him that the SADF is not upholding the "sacred and inviolable" principles he had expected to serve. "My experience in the [black] townships shattered any such illusions," he said. Louw recounted, as an example, that he had been ordered to drive his armored vehicle "into a crowd of people to provoke them to offer resistance."

Some of the most vivid testimony at the press conference was from conscripts who had served in Namibia and Angola. Etienne Marais, 26, one of several of the men who come from well-known Afrikaans families, was a rifleman in Namibia and Angola from 1984 to 1982. Among the instances of "intimidation and degradation" he says he witnessed was the "shooting of a 13-year-old [Namibian] girl in cold blood" and the eight-hour torture of a 16-year-old Angolan girl.

Marais also said that collecting body parts of Namibian and Angolan fighters as souvenirs is common, as is brutality towards civilians. He urged fellow conscripts to "break the silence" and disclose their own experiences.

– based on reporting by Thandeka Gqubule and Gaye Davis of the Weekly Mail

In an essay he thought one of his best, "Lament for a Young Soldier," Alan Paton recalled attending the funeral of a young man killed in Angola.

This week, the brother of that "young soldier" was one of 143 military conscripts who publicly declared that they would not serve in the South African Defense Force.

Paton wrote of seeing the family and the brother who grieved, of being moved to weep with them.

"There is one question that is not asked aloud here, and that is for what did he die. But it is in the minds of many of those who have come to mourn for a young soldier, and for those who he has left behind," he wrote.

"Did he die for the maintenance of our way of life? I mean, for the White way of life, for it is the White people of South Africa who say what the way of life must be.

"Or did he go to fight because his friends were going to fight? Or because he loved his country and didn't want to leave it?

"One is not supposed to ask these questions. The asking of them is supposed, in some queer way, to show that one does not love one's country."

This week, the grieving brother asked these same questions and, answering them, said he could not continue in the SADF.

Pietermaritzburg doctor Mark Patrick was one of 18 Natal conscripts who issued a joint statement explaining that they were not prepared to serve in the army.

"I have now chosen the side in South Africa that is struggling to replace apartheid with the principles of non-racialism and democracy. This means that I can never again participate in the SADF," he said.

His brother Timothy joined the SADF in January 1979 and became a commissioned officer.

He also volunteered to serve in northern Namibia and died 180 miles inside Angola.

"He was painted black and was wearing a Unita uniform," Paton wrote.

- Carmel Rickard, *Weekly Mail*

Contact/United Nations

South African soldiers in combat training. Some conscripts are saying "no more."

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Article 4: "War Against Neighbors." by Cherri Waters, *Response, Journal of United Methodist Women*, June 1988.

War Against Neighbors

by CHERRI D. WATERS

Why do Angola and Mozambique have the highest infant mortality rates in the world? Why are hundreds of thousands of people in these countries displaced and at risk of starving to death this year? Why are these countries still at war more than a decade after their independence struggles ended?

The answer: South Africa's policy of destabilizing the political and economic systems of its neighbors. South Africa calls this policy its total strategy to defend apartheid. This total strategy means that South Africa intends to mobilize the full force of its political, economic, diplomatic, and military might against neighboring states. In its stubborn commitment to maintain apartheid, South Africa will use any means, both direct and indirect, including surrogate forces inherited from the colonial wars and Ian Smith's Rhodesia.

Not one of the Black majority-ruled countries of southern Africa has been spared the brunt of South African destabilization. Since 1980, South Africa has invaded Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It has tried to assassinate the prime minister of Lesotho and Zimbabwe, and it is implicated in the death of the president of Mozambique. It backs the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), the guerrilla movements that have brought chaos to Angola and Mozambique. It has disrupted the oil supplies of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, as well as the trade and transportation routes of every country in the region. Its actions have precipitated a military coup in Lesotho—the first coup to occur in southern Africa. And hundreds of thousands of people throughout the region have starved to death because famine has become a weapon of war.

But South Africa's principal targets have been Angola and Mozambique—the countries in the best position to advance the goal of diminishing regional dependence on South Africa. Estimates are that South Africa's destabilization and aggression have cost Angola and Mozambique more than $1.6 billion in direct destruction of roads, bridges, houses, schools, hospitals, and churches. Certainly, it would be impossible to place a monetary value on the innocent lives that have been lost in these countries.

In the case of Angola, South Africa has joined with UNITA in waging war supposedly against the Angolan government. Since 1979, South Africa has provided massive financial aid and military support to UNITA. Pretoria trains the UNITA rebels; provides them with material aid, including weapons, ammunition, vehicles, radios, food, medicine, and uniforms; and funnels assistance to them from abroad.

At first, UNITA denied its relationship with South Africa. Since Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, was an honored guest at P.W. Botha's inauguration as South Africa's president in September 1984, such denials have been meaningless. Mr. Savimbi has been seen almost nightly on South African television. He was quoted in a June, 1987 *New York Times* article with a statement of support for Botha and a rebuke to Black South African leaders who refuse to negotiate with the apartheid regime.

Since its first invasion in August 1975, South Africa has launched at least 11 major invasions and countless smaller forays against Angola. In addition, South Africa has established a permanent military presence in southern Angola.

UNITA and South African troops have become virtually indistinguishable. Many of South Africa's invasions of Angola have been designed to secure UNITA positions. South African troops frequently pose as UNITA forces in order to obscure Pretoria's responsibility for an attack and to create an inflated impression of UNITA's strength. In some cases South Africa conducts joint operations with the rebels. The 32nd Battalion, a unit infamous for its acts of indiscriminate terrorism, is an example. A captured 32nd

Article 4: (cont'd.)

Battalion soldier is reported to have admitted that "the 32nd and UNITA had different spheres of operation, but we had the same boss—South Africa."

For Mozambique, the total strategy has meant both direct attacks and support for the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). Between 1981 and 1983, South Africa made at least a dozen strikes against Mozambique. While some of these raids were aimed at the African National Congress of South Africa, (ANC) others were clearly meant only to cause economic disruption in Mozambique and the region. A December, 1982 attack on an oil depot in Beira, Mozambique, for example, precipitated a fuel crisis in Zimbabwe. In May 1983 South Africa rocketed a suburb of Maputo, killing six people, only one of whom had African National Congress connections. In October, 1983 a South African commando group bombed the ANC office in Maputo, wounding five people.

RENAMO in Mozambique was actually created by the Rhodesians and the Portuguese in 1976. In June 1980 South Africa began giving the rebel movement money, supplies, and training. Acting on South Africa's orders, RENAMO drastically escalated its activities against Mozambique's civilian population. By the end of 1983, RENAMO had virtually destroyed the economy. With South African assistance, it systematically sabotaged railways, roads, and electricity transmission lines.

South Africa and UNITA have focused primarily on destroying Angola's economy and terrorizing its population. In August 1986, I visited Angola as a consultant to the Africa Committee of the National Council of Churches. I saw churches, schools, and factories that had been reduced to rubble by South African bombing. There are roads, bridges, and rail lines that have been made impassable by repeated rebel attacks.

Angola used to be self-sufficient in food production. It is now one of the six hungriest countries in the world. Hundreds of children have been orphaned. Everywhere I visited, I saw men, women, and children who have lost limbs to the anti-personnel mines planted in their fields. There are 20,000 amputees—more per capita than in any other country in the world. Hundreds of thousands of families are refugees in neighboring countries. More have become internal refugees, fleeing the ravages of war in their villages. And no one has any idea how many civilians or soldiers have died.

Similarly, RENAMO, in its campaign of terror, is killing peasant farmers, burning crops, and pillaging villages. More than 1.8 million people have been internally displaced; and 420,000 are refugees in the bordering countries. Nearly 4.5 million people, in a nation with a total population of 14 million, face acute malnutrition and starvation.

RENAMO has destroyed 484 health posts since 1982, 42 percent of the total, depriving more than 2 million people of access to health care. It has attacked 40 percent of the primary schools, leaving 300,000 children without an education. It has killed, wounded, and kidnapped local health care workers, halting vaccination efforts throughout the country. The Anglican Church has lost 50 congregations and the Baptist Church has lost 80,000 out of 200,000 members due to attacks.

Compounding this tragedy for the people of southern Africa is the harmful policy of the United States government. The Reagan Administration on a number of occasions has vetoed United Nations Security Council resolutions condemning South African aggression. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Administration and conservative members of Congress succeeded in repealing restrictions on United States support for the rebel forces in Angola. In early 1986 Reagan resumed U.S. covert aid to UNITA. According to press reports, this aid—including highly sophisticated Stinger missiles—is being funneled through South Africa despite the international arms embargo. The Reagan Administration has been unresponsive to the pleas of the southern African nations for help in defending themselves against South Africa; in rebuilding their devastated economies; and in caring for their starving and wounded citizens, who have been the real victims of apartheid's war.■

Dr. Waters is special assistant to Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr. (D), Michigan.

Article 5: "A Troubled Past." *Africa News*, April 17, 1989.

A Troubled Past

History has a tragic way of repeating itself in Namibia. The fighting that broke out this month is part of a long saga of conflict between Namibians and occupying armies that punctuates the past century.

In 1884, Namibia, then called South West Africa, was declared a German protectorate. Six years later, it became a crown colony. Africans who opposed colonial control were punished brutally – over 60,000 members of the Herero ethnic group alone were killed by German troops from 1904-1907. Sixty percent of the entire southern and central Namibian population was exterminated before German rule ended in 1915 with an invasion from South Africa by Allied troops.

The newly formed League of Nations appointed South Africa, a British protectorate, to administer South West Africa. Under the League mandate, South Africa was instructed to "promote the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."

In 1933, the League blocked a South African attempt to annex South West Africa, but was unable to stop Pretoria from maintaining the racially discriminatory laws introduced by the Germans and extending its own apartheid policies to the territory.

After World War Two, when the League was supplanted by the United Nations, "mandated" territories became UN trust territories in preparation for their transition to independence. Alone among the countries administering mandates, South Africa refused to change its territory to a trusteeship.

In 1950, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that the League mandate was still in force under UN supervision, and that while South Africa was not obligated to place South West Africa under UN trusteeship, neither did it have the right to simply swallow the territory.

Unsatisfied with the ruling, Liberia and Ethiopia petitioned the ICJ in 1960. They argued that South Africa's system of apartheid, applied in South West Africa, was a breach of the League mandate to protect the "well-being" of South West Africans. The court sidestepped the question by ruling that Liberia and Ethiopia had no standing to bring the case.

Diplomatic initiatives to resolve Namibia's status picked up some momentum in the 1960s, but they were largely symbolic. In October 1966, the UN General Assembly revoked the old League mandate and, under Resolution 2145, assumed nominal control of South West Africa. The UN also resolved, two years later, to rename the territory Namibia. And in 1969, the Security Council endorsed the revocation of the League mandate.

The following year, the Security Council asked the ICJ for an advisory opinion on South Africa's continued refusal to hand over control of Namibia. This time, the court said South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal and ruled that Pretoria must "put an end to its occupation of the territory."

But in the meantime, Pretoria was tightening its de facto control.

During the late 1960s, South Africa – which had already transferred key government functions such as defense, foreign affairs, immigration and law and order from Windhoek to Pretoria – took over Namibia's departments of revenue, commerce and industry, mining and health.

South Africa also extended to Namibia its "homelands" policy, under which Africans were to become "citizens" of separate, nominally independent states. With a population ten times that of Namibia's white and mixed-race peoples, Africans were to occupy eight homelands, or bantustans, comprising 40% of the available land.

None of these actions went unprotested in Namibia, where several groups opposed to South African rule had formed.

The South West African National Union (Swanu) was launched in 1959 with a membership predominantly drawn from the Herero, Namibia's second-largest ethnic group. The South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) was established one year later as a successor to the three-year-old Ovamboland People's Organization, which had been formed in the north to mobilize the territory's largest group, the Ovambo.

The spark that reignited mass protest was the Pretoria government's rejection of the ICJ's decision that South Africa's rule was illegal. Namibians were already brimming with resentment of the contract labor system. Previous attempts to force an end to the system had been crushed by the authorities.

Namibian frustrations culminated in a December 1971 strike among contract laborers throughout the territory. Railways, mines, and most heavy industries came to a standstill. The South African government responded by arresting and imprisoning leading strikers and sending the rank-and-file back to the homelands. When the homelands themselves erupted, Pretoria dispatched troops into the northern regions, and, finally, declared a state of emergency in the north.

The UN Security Council responded by asking Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to initiate contacts with all parties in the conflict "so as to enable the people of Namibia to exer-

Africa News Map/Rebecca Kohler

Article 5: (cont'd.)

cise their right of self-determination and independence." The UN identified three prerequisites to a settlement: South Africa must make clear its intentions for Namibian independence; there must be an end to racial discrimination in the territory; and the homelands policy must be jettisoned.

In a move apparently intended to show that Namibians were not ruled without representation, South Africa set up an advisory council with members from the territory's various regions. The National Convention of Non-Whites – a coalition that included Swapo and Swanu – rejected the council as illegitimate.

Pressure on South Africa to negotiate Namibia's independence increased with the departure of Portuguese colonial rulers from neighboring Angola in 1974. The Angolan government invited Swapo's external wing to transfer its principal base of operations from Zambia to Angola. With access to Namibia's long northern border, Swapo was able to intensify its guerrilla campaign.

South Africa expanded the strength of its dreaded counterinsurgency units in the north to a reported 45,000 troops. At the same time, Pretoria threw its support behind the Angolan rebel movement Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, and in 1975, South African troops crossed into Angola to intervene in the fighting on Unita's behalf. The intervention, launched from Namibia in violation of the League mandate – which prohibited Namibia's use as a military base of operations – weakened South Africa's position with the UN.

South Africa, meanwhile, attempted an "internal settlement" to the Namibian question. The result was the 1975 Turnhalle constitutional conference, a gathering of 146 delegates from Namibia's various ethnic groups. The conference designated December 31, 1978 as the target date for Namibian independence and produced a compromise constitution under which separate ethnic governments would draft social policies for their own people. Under the Turnhalle plan, white towns would remain under white control and South African troops would stay in Namibia after independence. Swapo, declared by the UN General Assembly the "sole authentic representative" of Namibians, rejected the constitution out of hand.

International pressure on South Africa continued to mount. In 1977, the five Western members of the Security Council formed a "Contact Group" to try to negotiate an internationally acceptable solution. The U.S., Britain, France, Canada and West Germany, using concerted high-level pressure, coaxed major concessions from both South Africa and Swapo.

Along the way, the negotiations suffered several setbacks, the most significant being the May 1978 South African attack on a Namibian refugee camp near Cassinga, Angola. Approximately 750 people died, most of them women and children, according to international observers who visited the scene.

Nevertheless, a compromise independence plan was adopted by the Security Council in September 1978 as Resolution 435. In a major concession to Pretoria, South Africa was granted continued administrative authority over the territory during the one-year independence process. The plan calls for UN-supervised elections of a constituent assembly that will draft a constitution for the territory. The status of Walvis Bay, Namibia's largest port – over which South African claims sovereignty – is omitted from Resolution 435, although a separate Security Council resolution says the port should be in Namibian territory.

However, implementation of the UN plan proved even more difficult than negotiating it had been. In December 1978, ignoring an international outcry, South Africa conducted elections for a constituent assembly. The majority of those elected to the assembly were from the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which was made up of groups that had participated in the Turnhalle conference. Charges of election fraud were rampant, and the international community declared the elections – and the assembly – invalid. Nevertheless, Pretoria accepted the results and named the members of the constituent assembly to a national advisory council.

Throughout 1979, negotiations continued over details of implementation, including the composition of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag), the force designated to supervise elections.

Hopes for implementation were raised in 1980, when Angola proposed that a demilitarized zone be established along the Namibia/Angola border during the period of transition to independence. South Africa's chief demand was that Swapo forces be withdrawn north of the DMZ while South African troops were gradually sent home from Namibia.

In early 1981, a meeting was held in Geneva to draw up a timetable for implementation of Resolution 435. But South Africa withdrew from negotiations on the timetable in an apparent attempt to buy time for its "internal solution." Critics of South African rule, including the major church organizations in Namibia, charged that Pretoria was stepping up its exploitation of the territory's valuable minerals, and that with every year of South African control, an independent Namibia would be poorer.

With an eye on the change in U.S. administrations from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan, South Africa intensified the effort to win domestic and international acceptance for a DTA-led government. But the effort stumbled, in part because the DTA was unable to demonstrate broad public support among either black or white Namibians.

Article 5: (cont'd.)

By 1982, the Reagan administration had eclipsed the Contact Group effort and launched a diplomatic initiative with a different focus. The U.S. proposed, and Pretoria quickly agreed to, a regional approach that linked withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola to implementation of the Namibian independence plan.

Negotiations proceeded, but suffered a number of setbacks. In 1985, Angola suspended its participation after the Reagan administration was reported to have approved a $15 million covert aid plan for Unita.

Last year, U.S.-mediated talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa began to show new promise after South Africa suffered a military setback in Angola. A large-scale combined Cuban/Angolan/Swapo offensive forced South African troops, who had invaded southeastern Angola in support of Unita, to abandon several forward positions along the Angola/Namibia border.

In December, the parties signed the southwest African peace accord, which includes a timetable for the Cuban troop pull-out from Angola and an agreement for implementation of the UN independence plan for Namibia. ■

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Article 6: "Lobbying Against Apartheid" by William Howard, *Africa Report*. March/April 1988.

Lobbying Against Apartheid

Having provided the backbone for the grassroots campaign which culminated in the passage of national sanctions legislation, American lobbying organizations are looking to new strategies to move the anti-apartheid effort forward in this election year.

BY WILLIAM HOWARD

A handful of organizations, generally working with small, dedicated staffs and minuscule budgets, have managed to hold their own in a fight against a host of major corporations who have the considerable power of many conservative members of Congress behind them.

Not unlike some modern fiction written in the mold of David and Goliath, the battleground is the effort to end apartheid in South Africa, and the combatants, a select number of lobbying groups ranged against a corporate world anxious to maintain its profits and prerogatives.

With campus protests to force trustees to divest their shares in companies doing business in South Africa a fading memory, and many others sated on the South African sanctions issue by the passage of national "comprehensive" sanctions legislation, some have begun to gloat that the sanctions movement and lobbying efforts aimed at pressuring the U.S. to isolate Pretoria are a declining force.

At the American Committee on Africa, Richard Knight said, "I don't think the campaign is at its peak, like it was when there were meetings and demonstrations on television every day," referring to the period from 1983 to 1986, when the campus divestment movement was most active. But, he says, the sanctions movement is "still a serious force." "In Congress, we just won the elimination of the foreign tax write-off for companies doing business in South Africa."

Knight adds, "We have already won a lot of battles, but states where we haven't gotten sanctions legislation passed are going to be more difficult because of specific barriers. Obviously we can't win New Jersey twice."

William Howard is a free-lance journalist based in New York.

United Nations

"TransAfrica is focusing on the presidential campaign, hoping to help elect a candidate whose South African policy will match its own"

Having succeeded in establishing laws in over 10 states, 13 counties, and 70 cities that prohibit investment of public monies in South Africa, the U.S. anti-apartheid lobby is working at refining its goals.

Dividing their labor, thus avoiding costly duplication, the major groups are working specifically on public education on South African issues, lobbying Congress for more thorough bans on commerce with and investment in South Africa, targeting specific corporations through shareholder resolutions and demonstrations in an effort to force them to sever their business ties with the country, and focusing on other regional issues such as fighting aid to the Unita rebels in Angola and urging more help for the government of Mozambique.

"Some have begun to gloat that the sanctions movement and lobbying efforts aimed at pressuring the U.S. to isolate Pretoria are a declining force."

Still at the local level, Knight said that while working to introduce municipal and state laws in areas where no such legislation exists, the groups are seeking to persuade local governments that have proven sympathetic to their efforts to strengthen laws, thus imposing selective purchase rules on quasi-governmental agencies and other bodies and forcing them to forgo purchase of goods with South African content.

The normal means for these groups, which typically have less than a dozen full-time staffers, is to maintain a regular stream of mail—educational newsletters, legislative updates, and appeals for support on specific issues—to keep U.S.-southern Africa issues on the political, corporate, and social agendas.

"Because of our limited resources, we often pick people who are pivotal in committees, and we take the lobbying right into their districts," said Jackie Wilson, legislative director of the Washington Office on Africa, a group founded in 1972 which devotes its efforts to influencing federal law on trade and investment in South Africa.

Explaining her group's lobbying technique, Wilson said, "We are constantly mailing out fact sheets, and calling up staffers, asking if they have received them." By monitoring the voting records of members of Congress and from the feedback her group gets from congressional staffers, Wilson said, "We produce a swing list to determine where people stand, and whose vote we are likely to sway."

"We give that list to the members of Congress who are sympathetic to us.

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Article 6 (cont'd.)

Generally they ask us for it, and they work on a personal basis to sway their colleagues in Congress," she said. In the House of Representatives, Wilson said, there is an "increasingly diverse corps of sponsors of legislation in the house, Democrat and Republican, black and white."

This, she felt, was because her group, which was founded by a large number of predominantly Protestant church groups working together to "attack the root causes" of misery and oppression in southern Africa, had been successful in mobilizing church members in specific congressional districts to express their concerns locally.

Like other activists and lobbyists, Wilson expressed the belief that the perceived lull in public protests and other actions that brought the anti-apartheid issue into the living rooms of America was merely a cyclical matter. "Some momentum got lost, partly out of the media's complicity in the South African press ban," she said.

Citing examples of what she said were the failures of the mainstream American press to cover South Africa thoroughly, she said, "Many journalists report on the situation in Namibia only by interviewing South African journalists." Others, she said, had failed to cover the continuing crisis in South Africa, "not reporting the truth because they are afraid of what the South African reaction will be." "If Nicaragua seals off the press like South Africa, my God, we will land the Marines. But South Africa does it and nobody makes a peep," she added.

Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), a New York-based church organization, denies that there has been any loss in momentum at all, saying, "Virtually every major company that still does business in South Africa is receiving a shareholder resolution this year asking them to cut ties, including an end to licensing arrangements."

As its name implies, the ICCR concentrates on forcing U.S. corporations to reduce or eliminate their involvement in South Africa, primarily through shareholder resolutions, but also through sit-in type protests at corporate offices. Surveying the results of the corporate campaign, Smith said, "Six of the top 20 pension funds in the country are involved in sponsoring shareholder resolutions."

While the efforts of his organization and others "cover every company that would have business in South Africa," Smith said, "the focus is on companies that are active in strategic sectors," like banking or petrochemicals, to name two.

"The climate for American corporations doing business in South Africa is not looking up," Smith said. "Virtually every major company, if not making plans to withdraw, is continuing to evaluate the situation and is working on contingency plans for withdrawal. If anything, there has been an increase in pressure, but as for coverage, it is not in the big newspapers as much at present," he added.

"There are very serious limits to any real impact than any bilateral policy can have," Robinson said, explaining his group's strategy for arriving at global sanctions. "An important step is to have the U.S. show leadership in bringing its allies and partners to impose sanctions together." "This is not an action, we understand, that the Congress can take, the president must carry it out," Robinson.

John Conn

"The perceived lull in public protests that brought the anti-apartheid issue into the living rooms of America is merely a cyclical matter"

At TransAfrica, the black American lobby for Africa and the Caribbean, the present focus is on U.S. electoral politics. TransAfrica's director, Randall Robinson, explained, "There is a near-term and a long-term objective. The near-term is to firm up the sanctions we already have, with the understanding that the South African government will not capitulate to anything less than global sanctions," the group's ultimate objective.

Article 7: "Africa War Zones: The Horn." Prepared by Teresa Smith, Association of Concerned Africa Scholars. *Africa Peace Tour Report*, Africa Peace Committee, 1987.

AFRICA WAR ZONES:
The Horn

Eritrea and Ethiopia

Africa's longest war, which began in 1961, is being fought by people of Eritrea for independence from Ethiopia.

Eritrea, formerly an Italian colony, has a history separate from Ethiopia's but is coveted by Ethiopia because it comprises Ethiopia's entire coast and access to the Red Sea. Eritrea had a chance for independence at the end of World War II, but it was annexed by Ethiopia with the help of the United States, which was then an ally of Ethiopia's Emperor Hailie Selassie. Eritrea, which has a population of about 3.5 million, is considered by Ethiopia to be a province. Ethiopia's population, apart from Eritrea, is about 40 million.

The Eritrean struggle is being waged by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), probably one of the best organized movements for self-determination in Africa. The Ethiopian central government has launched numerous assaults on the EPLF, on occasion involving 10,000 to 20,000 troops. The region is subject to continual air attacks which have literally driven Eritreans to live underground in a number of places.

It was this war that contributed greatly to the starvation in Ethiopia during the 1983 to 1985 famine, when it is estimated that more than 500,000 died in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Tigray and Ethiopia

The other war in Ethiopia that contributed to the massive starvation is being waged in Tigray Province where the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) is seeking greater autonomy from the central government, although not independence as with Eritrea. The relationship being fought against by the TPLF has roots in a feudal system which existed officially until the overthrow of Hailie Selassie in 1974 but which continues to have political and cultural reality.

Another struggle, which has had even less publicity than the two just mentioned, is that of the Oromo people, who have formed the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The Oromo comprise the majority of the Ethiopian population and are seeking to get their share of national political and economic power, which is now controlled by the Amharic people.

In all cases, the movements are seeking to redress inequities which were maintained under the emperor, who in turn owed a great deal of his power to support from the West, the dominant colonial and post-colonial power in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

These three conflicts combine to make up what might be described as the hard core of warfare in the Horn of Africa, with resolution made more difficult by the continuing manipulation of outside nations, principally the United States and the Soviet Union. These wars create a situation ripe for more famine, waiting only for another drought.

Article 7 (cont'd.)

United States involvement in Ethiopia was through direct military and economic aid for the emperor and his successors until 1977 when the new leadership, headed by Mengistu Haile-Mariam, brought in the Soviet Union. The United States would like to return to military bases in Ethiopia because of their proximity to oil shipping lanes. The U.S. and Russia seem to want Eritrea to remain bonded to Ethiopia as a matter of control, however. The U.S. supplied Eritreans with food aid during the famine but apparently does not provide military aid, seeing the EPLF as a useful thorn in the side of the central government but not a group that should be aided sufficiently to prevail. The U.S. also supports World Bank loans and other aid to Ethiopia, with the idea that Ethiopia someday come back into the fold of the West.

For its part, the Soviet Union has provided more than $1 billion in arms to the central government and in turn has access to naval and air bases and receives favorable exchange on coffee, gold and other products from Ethiopia.

The people of Eritrea and Ethiopia are therefore in much the same situation as those in other parts of the world in which "great powers" create suffering as they vie for military advantage, which is perceived as essential to economic advantage.

Sudan

Sudan, as created by colonial powers, combines an Arab oriented north, which is dominant, and a black-African oriented south. The south has a long history of exploitation by the north and has been short-changed in health care, education and public works.

Oil has been discovered in the south, and this has resulted in further pressure for exploitation. A part of the oppression is the imposition of Islamic law, which in the south is an affront to the majority of the people, who practice traditional religions and Christianity.

These conditions have led to rebellion, which has formed around the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA). The fighting has been irregular, and bandits are also contributing to the chaos in the south. Up to 2 million people are continually subject to malnutrition and starvation as a result of the war.

The United States provides economic and military assistance to the central government, in 1987 amounting to $79 million. Aid has decreased, however, as Sudan has moved to improve relations with Libya and the Soviet Union. The U.S. values Sudan for its oil, its vast agricultural potential and its use as a military staging area and a place for military manuevers. Sudan, with a population of just 21 million, is Africa's largest nation geographically, being about one-third the size of the United States..

Somalia and Kenya

Somalia and Kenya together represent the United States' principal military access in East Africa to the oil shipping lanes and the Indian Ocean.

The United States became an ally of Somalia when the Soviets shifted from Somalia to Ethiopia in 1977 and in 1987 supplies Somalia with $57 million in economic and military aid. Somalia's contention with Ethiopia over their common border turned violent again early in 1987, but outright war has not been underway since 1978.

Kenya has not experienced open warfare since independence was achieved in 1963.
However, repression is increasing, and Kenya seems headed for rebellion such as that which expelled Ferdinand Marcos from the Phillippines. And as in the Philippines, the U.S. is allied with the repressive government, which is receiving $57 million in economic and military aid from the U.S. in 1987.

An alternative policy for the United States in the Horn would: 1. End U.S. use of military bases in the Horn; 2. Halt arms shipments into the region; 3. Urge negotiations in international forums on the conflicts in the region.

Article 8: "Why the Violence?" from *War Wounds* by Abdul Rahman Abu Zayd Ahmed.

WHY THE VIOLENCE?

ABDUL RAHMAN ABU ZAYD AHMED

Professor Abdul Rahman Abu Zayd Ahmed was one of the founders and eventually Vice-Chancellor of the University of Juba. From 1976-1982, he was deeply involved, not only with educational developments in the south, but also with the major political events and leaders of the time. He went on to become Secretary-General of the National Council for Higher Education, and in 1985 took up his current position as Vice-Chancellor of Omdurman Ahlia University.

Within the pages of *War Wounds*, the reader will find personal testimonials by individuals who are keen observers of the present situation in southern Sudan. Their statements are a witness to the tragic results of a conflict which has divided our country for the second time in the span of three decades.

In order to understand correctly the background and parameters of this crisis and hence to address it with appropriate measures, certain fallacies and misleading perceptions must be put to rest.

Many a northern Sudanese, including politicians and informed writers, will tell you that the problem in southern Sudan is not one of race or religious bias, but one of sinister international interference (the Arabic word "mustahdaf" — targeted — is used daily to prove that Sudan is an object of external ill-intent). The claim is not shared by most southern Sudanese who see the conflict primarily in racial and religious terms.

This view of the conflict coloured the entire literature of the first Anya-Nya movement in the 1960s and early-1970s. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) now merely presents a new articulation of the same ideas about the conflict.

The basic cause

My contention is that racial and religious factors are genuine problems in the struggle to build a unified Sudanese nation, but they are not the basic cause of the present civil war. Let us move on then to address the more profound reason why differences, common to many societies, have been exaggerated to the point where violence became the chosen method of conflict response and resolution.

I believe the war, seen objectively, must be attributed primarily to comparative underdevelopment. The lack of development in the south gives rise to numerous and legitimate complaints. The southern Sudan has not received its fair share of development resources or attention, either under colonial rule or since independence.

Various reasons given for this state of affairs are not convincing, because southern Sudan is rich in resources which require only determined efforts to utilise them for the benefit of the people of the area and the entire nation. The need for the whole country to develop and share all available resources was made dramatically clear by the recent drought and famine in northern Sudan.

As the next century approaches, and as water resources and the cultivable land mass of northern Sudan shrink through drought and desertification, the only hope for the nation is for all regions to work together to exploit their particular resources for the good of the country as a whole. Yet, valuable time and treasure have been wasted for many years by neglecting the regions outside the north-central Nile Valley.

The result of erratic, ignorant and frivolous or unimplemented policies is the present poverty and misery of the entire Sudanese people.

Although the cities, towns and villages of northern Sudan are not exactly models of development, the cities and towns and villages of southern Sudan have deteriorated to the point where they are practically unsuitable for habitation. Even the capital cities of the three southern regions are suffering in an appalling manner.

Dealing with the problems

How does this explanation of why we are in the present dilemma help us deal with the problem as a whole and the immediate problems of affected individuals and populations?

There must be an honest acceptance of Sudan as a sum of complex, conflicting elements.

The Government must be restructured so that the principles of a democratic system are guaranteed; namely, pluralism, basic human rights for all, equality before the law and in all national endeavours. All regions must have equal opportunity to develop. There must be a national acknowledgement that the south (and other neglected regions) represent a future source of wealth for the nation since their manpower, water, land and forests are vitally needed for the development of the nation as a whole.

All regions of the Sudan must be open to all people of the Sudan with full rights of residence, work and acquisition of property, as well as equality of opportunity with the indigenous people of the region. The national wealth must be distributed equitably. Resources of every region must be developed according to an agreed national agenda and available to all citizens, no matter from where they come.

Cultural and linguistic characteristics of every region should receive equal attention and encouragement by the relevant government institutions and private organisations. The educational system should be uniform throughout the country in its major

Article 8 (cont'd.)

ingredients, with allowance for regional variations. Proportional representation in the national institutions must be guaranteed.

A great deal of discussion has taken place about the question of Sudanese identity. Unfortunately, this is an issue like the other issues crucial to national harmony, which requires sensitive and imaginative handling. The acculturation process is one of historical, spiritual and emotional dimensions, and the question of identity is intimately related to that process. We cannot hope to decree a feeling of "Sudanese-ness" even if there is a national consensus on the need for a unified Sudanese identity. This can only be achieved through a long process of education, which should not overlook the advantage of maintaining diversity within unity.

The importance of initiating the long process of acquisition of a national identity is not to eliminate differences, but to ensure that those differences are not the occasion for discrimination and do not lead to violent conflict; they should rather serve to promote integration by giving various groups confidence in one another and enriching the individual Sudanese and the Sudanese society and nation.

In three decades the Sudan has lived through two tragic civil wars. We are now more than a match for the Lebanese and the Irish. During these wars we have destroyed immense wealth, lost valuable opportunities for growth, and inflicted permanent injury to the national psyche with nothing to show for our deeds.

The present civil war, however, is different from the one that preceded it. It is more sinister and more dangerous because of the involvement of outside powers and the availability of more destructive firepower at a time when the Sudan is beset with enormous problems of drought, desertification, agonising institutional disruption and a staggering international debt (most of which are compounded by the fact and requirements of the war).

These problems are crying for a determined national effort in order to find solutions. It is absolutely essential, therefore, to bring the civil war to an end as a first step towards economic and social health and recovery.

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Article 9: "Rebels in Ethiopia Work to Modernize Eritrea" by John Kifner, *The New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1988.

Rebels in Ethiopia Work to Modernize Eritrea

By JOHN KIFNER
Special to The New York Times

OROTTA, Ethiopia — By day, this narrow valley carved into the steep mountains seems nearly deserted, the only movement herds of goats scrambling among the rocks. But as dusk falls and the danger of Ethiopian MIG bombers fades with the light, the valley springs to life.

Convoys of big Mercedes trucks pull out of hiding places under trees, ferrying food and supplies, their headlights catching camels lurching arrogantly in the brush. Men and women carrying flashlights and Kalashnikov rifles staff checkpoints neatly marked with stop signs showing an upraised palm.

In a hospital dug into the side of the mountain, rambling along in a corridor nearly three miles long, doctors in green surgical gowns are operating on wounded guerrillas and civilians. Workshops tucked into the ravines repair everything from electric generators to captured Soviet T-55 tanks, and tiny factories turn out plastic sandals, schoolbooks and spaghetti.

War Began 27 Years Ago

This is the headquarters of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, one of the world's most remarkable guerrilla organizations, locked in a 27-year-long war to break away from Ethiopia.

But even as the fighting continues, the guerrillas, led by one-time campus Marxists, are also struggling to modernize a backward, traditionalist society. They are teaching an overwhelmingly illiterate people to read and write, building a primary health care system in a land ravaged by famine and disease, championing the rights of women who had been treated as chattel and introducing new technology.

In the last few months, the Eritreans have broken a nine-year-long stalemate of trench warfare, overrunning the main Ethiopian Army headquarters in the north and threatening the Soviet-backed regime of Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam. Despite the Eritrean gains — they control nearly three-quarters of the territory, although not the major cities — there is no end in sight to a war that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

No outside power supports the Eritreans, and other African nations oppose secession for fear that tribalism would splinter them too.

Starting from scratch, the Eritrean rebels have built an impressive, self-sufficient network of medical clinics, refugee relief centers, factories and schools.

A conversation with a rebel official inevitably begins with a statistics-packed review of the table of organization, and a list of accomplishments, usually coupled with the cheerful admission that they are only making a dent in an overwhelming problem.

"We make intravenous solutions, capsules, tablets, ointments, tinctures," said Sennay Kifleyesus, a pharmacist running a hidden plant here that produces the rebels' drugs and medicine. He went on with a list of "four main types of antibiotics, vitamins, especially C and B-complex, antimalaria pills — important because it's very common — aspirin, a basic list of 182 items."

"We're not fully self-sufficient yet," he added apologetically, shining a flashlight on the rocky paths between his laboratories. "Right now, we supply about 40 percent of our needs."

In Shipping Containers, Modern Laboratories

Around a rock and behind a bush a door opens onto an interconnected series of cargo shipping containers, painted white, that are now laboratory rooms where workers in futuristic sterile coveralls and hoods check the drugs for purity. Elaborate machines mix compounds and spew out pills.

"Our medical department is in two sections, civilian and military," said Dr. Assefaw Tekeste, the director of civilian health services, showing a visitor through tents filled with quiet women and children who had lost legs to land mines.

"The central hospital here is at the top of the pyramid; it has 400 inpatients at the moment," he said. "We have six regional hospitals in areas we control in the central highlands, 23 regional health centers, 32 health centers, 208 village clinics, which can serve 500 to 1,000 people."

"We have trained more than a thousand barefoot doctors," he added, referring to those trained in basic medical techniques.

The tour entered what appeared to be a stone hut that turned into a spotless operating theater where a team of doctors, peering into a sophisticated magnifying device, were performing microsurgery on a man's eardrum, ruined by artillery fire.

Dr. Tekeste Fekadu, the military health director said, "Behind the lines, we have a clinic at the battalion level, division hospital with mobile surgical units, regional hospitals and then the central hospital here, with a unit for prostheses."

"We have 35 certified doctors, 37 assistant doctors we have trained ourselves who can do simple operations, 150 nurses, 65 lab technicians and over 1,700 barefoot doctors," he said. "To compensate for the lack of helicopter evacuation, we carry the casualties out on our backs, but our mortality rate from stomach injuries compares favorably with the Americans in Vietnam. We have learned a lot."

'A Very Small Dent' In Vast Illiteracy

Andebrhan W. Giorgis, the Harvard-educated deputy chairman of the rebels' education department, who is trying to deal with a 90 percent illiteracy rate in the population of roughly 3.5 million, said: "We have 165 schools, some 1,780 teachers, and 27,000 students. We have devised a three-year program for adult education of reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary hygiene and some physical and social sciences."

But he added, "This is a very small dent."

Playing with a kitten, he offered the obligatory glass of tea from a thermos on the porch of the Zero School here, the central boarding school operated by the rebel front.

The school, taking its name from the radio code for a nearby rebel headquarters, began in 1976 with 100 students. Today it is a complex of six schools, including one for fine arts, and has 4,600 students and 200 teachers.

Unlike the guerrillas of Afghanistan, who are fighting to maintain a traditional way of life in the face of that Soviet-backed regime's attempt to impose modernism, the Eritrean rebels are determined to create a new society. Nowhere is this more apparent than in their call for equality for women, traditionally confined to the kitchen and not allowed to speak in public. Now, wearing shorts and carrying Kalashnikovs, women make up nearly a third of the front-line guerrilla fighters.

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Article 9 (cont'd.)

In a part of the world where ties of tribe and religion define identity, the rebel front is trying to build this new society in a staggeringly diverse territory — about one-tenth of Ethiopia — that has nine languages and a people largely divided into Moslems of the lowlands and Christians of the highlands.

Nationalism Traced To Italian Colonization

Ironically enough, the fierce sense of Eritrean nationalism, Eritreans themselves say, comes from having been colonized by Italy.

Italy founded its colony here in 1890, intending to use it as a springboard for further conquests in Africa. Small factories and, later, automobile repair garages were built, along with a network of roads hewn through the steep mountains. The local people were brought in as laborers and apprentices.

"Italy played a role in bringing people together and making them feel the same," said the Secretary General of the rebel front, Isseyas Aferworki, when asked about the roots of Eritrean nationalism.

Awarded by the U.N. And Then Annexed

After Italy's defeat in World War II and a brief period of British rule, the United Nations awarded Eritrea to Ethiopia and Emperor Haile Selassie in 1952. This was done largely at the insistence of the United States, which maintained a communications base near Asmara and wanted to keep the Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab in the hands of its main ally in the area.

The United Nations plan called for a federation in which Eritrea would have an independent parliament, but within a decade the Emperor had annexed Eritrea. A military coup dethroned the Emperor in 1974, and three years later Ethiopia switched allegiance from Washington to Moscow. But Colonel Mengistu and his fellow officers, known as the Dergue or Committee, were no less determined to hang onto Eritrea.

The Emperor's moves touched off mounting discontent, and the first shots of rebellion were fired in September 1961. The initial revolt, which became known as the Eritrean Liberation Front, was composed largely of traditional and tribal leaders, with a strongly Moslem cast.

The rebellion was joined later by younger, more educated Eritreans, largely urban. Many of them were Christians, and a number were campus radicals at Haile Selassie University in Addis Ababa.

As the Eritreans fought the central Government, they also fought each other in an increasingly fierce civil war within the civil war, with the more modernist, leftist People's Liberation Front triumphing by 1981.

Outside Support Is Said to Dry Up

In its initial stages, the Eritrean separatists received money from some Arab nations and military training from Cuba because they were opposing a Western-backed Government. Both these sources dried up when both the Government and the rebels turned left.

Recently, Colonel Mengistu has asserted that the rebels are backed by Arabs, which could raise the fears of Christian Ethiopians. The Eritreans deny this, saying most of their support comes from contributions by Eritrean expatriates.

Mr. Isseyas, the rebel leader, said: "It's a misunderstanding when people try to talk about the E.P.L.F. as being a totally Marxist organization."

In an interview at a base hidden in the mountaintops, the soft-spoken, lanky Mr. Isseyas looked puzzled for a moment when asked what the rebels' major accomplishment had been.

"We have been able to survive against all sorts of odds — that's the first thing," he said. "We have learned to do things after a long process — a repetition of mistakes, confrontations, setbacks — but we have developed a proficiency in doing our jobs."

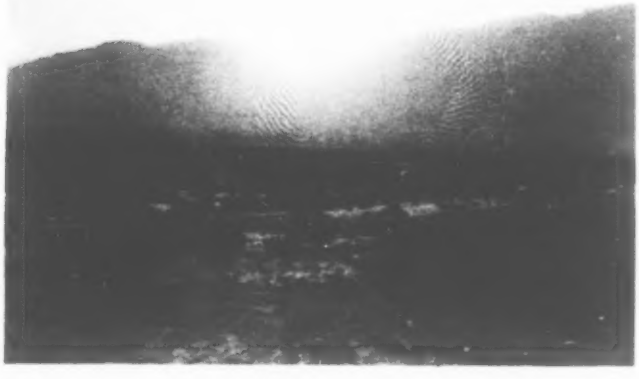
'We Have Come A Long Way'

In the darkening valleys below, the rebels were moving out, four-wheel-drive Toyotas bumping along the stream beds. Many stopped at roadblocks so men — and sometimes women — could give a traditional greeting of a hug and striking of shoulders.

Near the hospitals, men missing the lower parts of a leg exercised, walking with the aid of ski poles.

"We have come a long way," said Dr. Assefaw, the civilian health director, who has been in the field for 10 years. "Today when I go to the front line, I will take a car and the necessary equipment. Before I would take a donkey. We never had houses like this; we slept under a tree.

"Our struggle has been a very isolated one," he went on. "No superpower supports us. To the Soviets we are agents of imperialism; to the West we are Marxists. But there is some good about isolation. It steels us. We are self-sufficient."



UUSC FILE PHOTO

The plains area of Eritrea

Article 10: "Africa War Zones: Western Sahara/Chad." Prepared by Teresa Smith, Association of Concerned Africa Scholars. *Africa Peace Tour Report*, Africa Peace Committee, 1987.

AFRICA WAR ZONES:
Western Sahara/Chad

Western Sahara

The war in Western Sahara is one in which the West, through Morocco, is attempting to retain favorable access to valuable resources f phos hates, oil and fisheries, among others.

Morocco is also viewed as a key military outpost for the United States in northern Africa. This contributes to the willingness of the U.S. to support Morocco's designs on Western Sahara, a nation about the size of Colorado, with a population of about 500,000.

From 1884 to 1975, Western Sahara was a colony of Spain, which held a limited interest in the area until it discovered that Western Sahara's waters were among the world's richest fisheries. Offshore and subsoil petroleum deposits were found in the late 1950s and 1960s, as were superior, ranium-grade phosphates and one of the world's largest fresh water acquifers.

At the same time these discoveries were being made, a movement for self-determination was growing among the people of Western Sahara, known as the Sahrawi. The Sahrawi have a distinct history, which includes 50 years of successful resistance before the Spanish were finally able to create a colony in the region.

The drive to restore Western Sahara to Sahrawi control began with student protests in the 1960s, which the Spanish brutally put down, killing hundreds and detaining leaders. In 1973, the Sahrawi formed the Polisario Front, which undertook armed struggle to oust he Spanish. In 1975 the United Nations found that the people of Western Sahara categorically supported the Polisario and wanted independence.

Meanwhile, two neighboring states, Morocco and Mauritania, put forward claims on the territory. Spain promised to reach a negotiated agreement with the Polisario Front that would bring independence to Western Sahara. In October 1975 the World Court ruled on Western Sahara, dismissing the claims of Morocco and Mauritania to sovereignty over the territory.

Nevertheless, in defiance of its pledges and obligations, Spain struck a deal in November, 1975 with Morocco and Mauritania--the Madrid Accords--which divided Western Sahara between them. The Polisario then turned their struggle against the new occupying forces. In 1979, with an economy devastated by the burdens of war, Mauritania withdrew. Morocco then moved to annex by force the whole of the territory.

The War

Morocco, under the rule of King Hasan, has thrown itself into overwhelming the Polisario. The central Morcoccan strategy is the creation of walls in the desert that bring more and more of Western Sahara under Moroccan control. The walls, which are heavily fortified, mined and guarded by radar, have been constructed with the help of France, the U.S. and Israel.

These walls are concentrated in north and western regions, enclosing the key phosphate mining center at Bu Craa. The Moroccans have invested $50 million in port facilities in the area and have increased phosphate mining to approach levels reached while the area was under Spanish control.

Article 10 (cont'd.)

Inside the walls, state of emergency legislation suspends all civil rights and makes visible opposition to the occupation impossible. Disappearance and torture is systematic as well.

The war has pushed some 240,000 Sahrawi refugees into Algeria.

The U.S. is deeply committed to Morocco's attempt to control Western Sahara. In 1987, the U.S. provided Morocco with $109 million in military and economic aid. $32 million of this total was in free weapons. Over the course of Morocco's war effort, the U.S. has provided $1.5 billion in military aid.

In return, Morocco provides the U.S. military with basing rights, communication and landing facilities for the Central Command (Rapid Deployment) and the U.S. fleet operating in the Atlantic and Mediterranean, not to mention selling fruit and vegetables to U.S. Europe-based NATO forces. Morocco also channels assistance to and hosts the foreign headquarters of UNITA, the contra-style force allied with South Africa, supported by the U.S. in Angola. Morocco has purchased South African tanks. Currently, Morocco is searching for assistance to enable it to acquire a new squadron of F-16 fighter planes and to build another wall.

The Sahrawi Republic (SADI), the provisional government of the Polisario, is recognized by 69 nations and is a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU has elaborated a peace plan for the region, OAU Resolution 104 (1983), which was endorsed by consensus at the United Nations in the same year. Currently the U.N. Secretary General is undertaking efforts to bring the two parties (Morocco and the Polisario) to negotiate its implementation. But, Morocco refuses to cooperate. Unfortunately, with the assurance of U.S. assistance, plans to build more walls move ahead, with the likelihood that war will spread into neighboring countries.

This paper was prepared by Teresa K. Smith (Association of Concerned Africa Scholars) and Todd Perry.

Chad

Chad is a vast nation, equal to the size of the west coast of the United States, formerly a French colony but still under substantial control by France, and the United States.

Chad's population of 4.5 million is concentrated in the southern region, which has rich agricultural potential, producing large cotton crops for Western Europe and Japan. Oil has also been discovered in the south near Lake Chad and Esso Exploration is planning for its exploitation.

Hissen Habre, a northern minority leader, after several revolts and military campaigns, became president of Chad in 1982. From 1982 to 1986, the U.S. and France sent millions of dollars in arms and equipment to the Habre regime to counter offensives by opponents and by Libya, which has occupied a uranimum-rich strip along the border since 1972.

In 1987, the U.S. provided Chad with $17 million in economic and military aid and air-lifted military supplies to help Chad turn back a Libyan assault. At the same time, France bombed Libyan troops in retaliation for Libyan bombings, showing its intention to maintain its presence in Chad.

Apart from Habre's small clan, no Chadian has benefitted from this war or past wars which have helped keep Chad the sixth poorest nation in the world. Many southern groups fled their farms or were killed when Habre came to power. But Habre successfully offered amnesty to southern rebels starting in 1985, and many refugees have returned. Despite Habre's recent efforts at reconciliation, his rule has been characterized by political killings and frequent human rights violations.

A U.S. policy that would benefit Western Sahara and Chad would: 1. Halt weapons shipments to both nations; 2. Condition economic aid and financial involvement on protection of human rights; 3. In the case of Western Sahara, support the peace plan of the OAU.

For more information on Western Sahara or Chad please contact the local organizer for the Africa Peace Tour or write: Africa Peace Committee, c/o Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Maryknoll, NY 10562.

Session 6: Where do we go from here?

Goal: To establish an action plan that celebrates participants' learning from Sessions 1-5.

The activities in this session will help the group develop an action plan that reflects and celebrates the group's learning in Sessions 1-5 about the linkages between their community and Africa. *The Busy Person's Guide to Social Action* (pp. 16-48) provides general action planning guidelines.

Activities:

- Participants clarify and define the linkages they have discovered between their local community and the African context.
- They analyze the assets that they have among themselves and within their community, and the identified networks.
- They brainstorm a list of possible responses in terms of activities and events that highlight the linkages, and discuss the pros and cons of each potential activity or event.
- They decide which activity(ies) or event(s) would be most effective and feasible.
- The group draws up an action plan, delegates tasks, sets dates, responsibilities, linkages with other groups in their community.

Suggested Equipment and Materials:

- African foods brought by participants
- easel and newsprint to mark participants' comments, responsibilities
- a table to display any Africa-related literature
- a bulletin board to pin up a map of Africa, relevant articles and announcements
- thumb tacks, scissors, tape
- compiled list of media contacts and African resource network in the local area
- cassette player

Session Outline

1. **It's Time to Write some new Songs!**

   "Songs are sneaky things. They can slip across borders. Proliferate in prisons. Penetrate hard shells." (Pete Seeger). Play an inspiring song to set the tone for this session. Choose your own or play a selection from the "New Songs" cassette by Jim Dunn (available from The People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, 1444 North Johnson St., New Orleans, LA 70116 (504) 944-2354 or contact UUSC).

2. **What is Social Action?**

   Social action is only effective if it is tailored to people's characteristics, skills, and preferences. Once the issues and problems have been identified, we have to determine each person's and the group's action possibilities. Copy the following pages for use as a handout; the information on Modes of Action and Transformation Roles sets the tone for deciding on group action by providing an idea of the breadth of what is called social action.

Modes of Action: What can I do?

- **Personal Lifestyle Choices:** Make choices about my personal life in light of my declared values.
- **Service:** participate in action to address the effects of an identified problem.
- **Advocacy:** speak out about the problem to those who could make a difference.
- **Organizing:** get others involved in changing the situation — both those affected and those who have resources and power.

Transformation Roles: How can what I do change unjust structures?

According to economist and futurist James Robertson, the process of social transformation involves many people acting out of a shared vision in all arenas of life (family, business, school, church and synagogue, professional, civic and government...) in one or more of the six transformation roles according to our own gifts and circumstances.

- **Building the new value system:** A just society exhibits a new set of values (respect for each person, solidarity among all peoples, stewardship, non-violence, cooperation, participation). For these values to replace those of exploitation, patriarchy, competition, violence, consumerism, and exclusion, they must be internalized by many people. This calls on the skills of teachers, parents, preachers, artists, musicians, poets, and everyone involved in human development.

- **Choosing a lifestyle congruent with your declared values:** A just economic society calls us to make lifestyle choices accordingly: living simply, reordering priorities to make way for a more just distribution of goods and modeling in the way we live the value system we espouse. Unless we do this there will be diminished potential for change, and for meeting the needs of those suffering from want.

- **Enabling alternative structures to emerge:** Some people have to create new structures that will bring about the just society — the new ways of working and organizing the production and delivery of goods and services. Some are the innovators; others help get the resources to implement the new ideas — volunteering at the local food co-op, investing in self-help credit unions, helping get orders for a new alternative press.

- **Transforming existing institutions from within:** New values for the just society must re-shape the patterns of acting and relating within existing institutions. Decision-making in offices, classrooms, agencies, and churches must become more participatory, involving all who are affected. Reward systems must become more just, according to race and gender. Conflicts must be settled nonviolently. Cooperation has to replace competition. Futurist Robert Theobald, says: "To get revolutionary change, be revolutionary." Once people have experienced a new way the effects will ripple out and spread.

- **Strategies for getting from here to there:** People must design the process of change, i.e., the strategies and tactics that will change patterns of behavior and the laws of the land. People must organize to participate in the strategies, e.g., voting long-term commitments to issues — all call for members to contribute time, effort and money to organizing the constituency for change and mobilizing the effort in the economic and political arenas.

- **Opposing what goes in the wrong direction:** One part of working for change is preventing policies and action that reinforce the status quo or take us backward. So one of the transformation roles calls on change agents to say "No!" to injustice even as they work for justice. Once situations have been identified as unjust there is no such thing as being neutral. To be silent is to stand on the side of the status quo — the unjust reality, and to be complicit in it. As Edmund Burke put it, "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to triumph is for enough good people to be silent."

(Adapted from the *Economic Literacy Project: Empowering Women for Action*, produced by the Religious Network for Equality for Women)

3. Moving from Information to Action

The steps between receiving information and implementing action are important in determining what action is the best possible response to the kinds of linkages the participants discovered. Too often groups of people involved in social action are overly eager to step into action, or they become side-tracked by endless discussions on what should be done (a phenomenon that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called "paralysis by analysis"). To be effective, action must be firmly grounded in a realistic framework. During the process of reaching consensus, broken down below into 12 steps, the facilitator should make sure that the decision-making includes all group members and any questions are clarified. Having a blackboard or newsprint on hand will help the group keep track of progress made during each step of the process.

A 12-step process for group consensus-building:

Step #1: The group brainstorms a list of linkages between their local area and Africa, according to the session topics (culture, economics, health, hunger, children and youth, environment, military spending). Where do related phenomena exist locally and in Africa? What are some common obstacles and goals?

Step #2: The group decides which linkages are the strongest and most clear in their impact on the local level and in the African context. For what linkage can an action or event help redirect policy and public attention concerning local and African issues in a positive manner?

Step #3: The group brainstorms on common (win-win) actions or events that would help resolve some of the negative impacts of issues for both the U.S. and Africa. (Consult the Brainstorming List of Activities and Events below for ideas).

Step #4: Questions that some group members may raise about the linkages and possible actions are solicited by the facilitator and clarified.

Step #5: The group discusses the pros and cons of the different action that they listed under Step #3. Are they realistic? Here the group's assets should be taken into account (see 4. Worksheet: How to Calculate Your Group Assets of the session outline below).

Step #6: One (or several) group members are called upon by the facilitator to make a proposal for what appears to be the most realistic action (or actions) for the group to undertake.

Step #7: The group discusses the feasibility of the proposal made in Step #6. What considerations must be taken into account in implementing this proposal?

Step #8: Other group members are called upon by the facilitator to modify the proposal made in Step #6, if necessary.

Step #9: The facilitator tests for consensus among the group:

(a) he/she restates the proposal

(b) he/she calls for concerns about the proposal from the group

(c) he/she calls for objections, reservations within the group consensus

(d) he/she calls for blocks from among the group members

(e) he/she attempts to incorporate objections of blockers into the proposal

Step #10: After the test for consensus, the facilitator makes an official call for consensus, through a show of verbal and/or visual agreement. (If consensus is reached, the group moves on to Step #11; if not, they go back to Step #9).

Step #11: With the help of the Action Plan Worksheet (see item #5 below) the group develops and action plan to implement the proposal that they reached consensus on.

Step #12: Tasks in implementing the proposal are assigned to the different group members (again, consult the Action Plan Worksheet below).

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4. Worksheet: How To Calculate Your Group Assets

Before implementing an action plan, group members should take inventory of the assets they can work with. The following is a worksheet for the group to complete:

People — time and talents: The key assets to effective action are members' and friends' availability, skills, and interests. Instead of designing a program and then looking for skills to match, groups tend to be more successful if they inventory skills and then shape a program around them — this builds on a community's existing strengths.

Useful skills to list include: community organizing, journalism, teaching, training, theater and puppetry, music and dance, accounting, bookkeeping, grant-writing, banking, legal work, health, business planning, advertising, graphic design, contracting, small business, computer, information science, home business, and many others.

Name	Skills	Availability

Facilities: What facilities do you own or have the right to use? Think about church buildings, office space, convents, schools, storage space, meeting and conference facilities, school gym, outdoor recreational facilities, houses or apartment buildings, etc. When are these properties being used? Mostly on Sundays and a few nights a week? Are any of these properties in a key community location? List any particular advantages these facilities offer. Which facilities are not being used to their fullest capacity? Make a list:

Facility/Room	Times Available	Possible Uses

Equipment: What equipment does your group own or rent? Can it be put to more intensive use? A good typewriter or word processor could cut costs and time. Use of a van might ease transportation problems. A storefront could become an income-generating resale shop. Your storage space may be valuable too. Here's a short list to help you inventory such equipment:

Office equipment (typewriter, addressing machine, computer, mimeograph, photocopy machine, printing equipment, lay-out table, other):

_____
_____
_____

Video and audio equipment:

_____
_____
_____

Other equipment (from schools, community centers, warehouses, nursing homes, local retail stores, and other services):

_____
_____
_____

Linkage to existing programs: Working with existing community action programs could significantly strengthen group activities. It is useful to inventory all your "friends and allies."

As an on-going assignment (defined in Session 1), the group has been collecting information about the African resource network in the local area. Which ones can be useful to help implement the action? Also consider organizations and programs, such as coalitions on African issues, peace groups, environmental programs, Third World crafts cooperatives, food co-ops, meal programs, recycling programs, day care centers, shelters for women and children, credit unions, health care programs, Third World education programs, church-affiliated coalitions.

Organization	How we could collaborate

5. An Action Plan Worksheet

Organizing action takes planning, making all those involved responsible for different aspects of the whole, and keeping track of the action plan's progress. Below is a worksheet to complete for developing a realistic action plan:

1) What activity has the group decided on?

_____

_____

2) What problem(s) in the local community and Africa does this activity address?

_____

_____

3) Who will benefit from the activity? How will these people benefit? Who is your constituency? Who are you accountable to?

_____

_____

_____

4) What timeframe is there for the implementation of the activity?

_____

_____

5) What obstacles should we expect to look out for? (Money problems, people, attitudes, lack of clarity, commitment, time.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

6) What people/organizations will be involved in making this activity possible?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7) What kinds of resources (equipment, materials, tools, facilities, vehicles, money, skills) will be needed for this activity?

_____

_____

_____

_____

8) Where is the activity going to take place?

_____

_____

9) Implementation plan: How is the activity to be done?

- prior to the activity (preparation)

task	who	when

- during the activity (implementation plan)

task	who	when

- after the activity (follow-up)

task	who	when

6. Spreading the Word About Findings

As an on-going assignment (defined in Session 1), the group identified the local media network and its coverage of African issues. Information and contacts gained during this inquiry will help you spread the word about the group's program. For example, the local-global connections that will have emerged from the self-study will be of interest to the local media. It may be most efficient to designate a media liaison person from among the group's members.

Ways to communicate with the media include:

- press releases (you can find a sample press release and information on how to write one yourself in the *Busy Person's Guide to Social Action*, p. 32)
- flyers, circulars, brochures
- newsletters
- Public Information Announcements (PIA)
- radio and television interviews
- public speaking at schools, nursing homes, community centers
- action alerts (about boycotts, for example)
- demonstrations, vigils
- street theater
- puppet shows
- cultural events
- public access television

The group's media liaison person may want to inform the community about the types of activities the group plans to undertake. Here are a few helpful hints for writing promotional copy. :

1. Have a "you" orientation (readers' needs come first)
2. Slogans help readers and listeners remember (something like: "Africa: you can't live without it!")
3. Carefully arrange your "selling" points (relate Africa to the local context)
4. Avoid sexism and jargon
5. Use graphics
6. Keep sentences and paragraphs short and clear
7. Don't forget to state the obvious (this is especially true as far as Africa is concerned!)
8. Add an additional inducement to get public to participate
9. Good copy should be: interesting, specific, simple, concise, believable, relevant, and persuasive. (According to a Yale University study, the twelve most persuasive words are: discovery, easy, guarantee, health, love, money, new, proven, results, safety, save, you.)

(Adapted from Gary Blake and Robert W. Bly, *How to Promote your own Business.* New York: NAL Penguin Inc. 1983)

A Brainstorming List and Sample Ideas for Action:

A list of some examples of action undertaken by groups of people, concerned about their communities and those in Africa, are presented below. The list of activities and events should stimulate thinking of what the group can do. The readings include an example of how to organize an Alternative Trade Organization (selling African products, for example), a fact sheet and sample letter of protest on the Nestlé and American Home Products boycott, along with information on the Coca-Cola in South Africa boycott.

General:

Awareness campaign on U.S./South Africa involvement (rallies, vigils, demonstrations)

Benefits, fundraisers (musicians, cultural events)

Building exchanges between people in U.S. and in Africa

Celebration of World Days (e.g. World Hunger Day, World Health Day)

Educational events at churches

Joining or developing a Peace Corps Partnership Program

Lobbying campaigns of local and national government officials

News features, letters to the editor, magazine articles, newsletters, press releases

Organization of sessions on what North Americans can learn from Africa

Partnerships with local African coalitions (student groups, divestment campaigns)

Poster drawing contests

Presentations in nursing homes, jails, schools, community centers (speakers, slide shows, videos, films)

Resource center, speakers bureau, calendar of events concerning Africa

Sister city, adopt-a-community, grassroots exchange programs

Travel exchanges

Work with local offices of international associations (UN Associations, World Affairs Councils, Returned Peace Corps Volunteer groups, Bread for the World, and other religious, non-profit groups)

Cultural:

African arts exhibits and shops, support for artists' cooperatives,

Black History Month activities on linking local community with Africa

Culture kits (collection of objects from different countries)

Hands-on museum/exhibits

Story tellers: African folk tales

Street theater, puppet shows, simulations, role plays, mini-skits

Economic:

Advocacy of local-African links in local government and businesses

Boycotts, pickets, action alerts, petitions of U.S. companies with unethical policies in the U.S. and Africa

Identification of markets for Africa products

Program to encourage purchase of goods from Africa

Children and Youth:

Assessment of school curriculum on Africa (train teachers)

Boycott companies which contribute to unjust practices against children, e.g. Nestlé, American Home Products)

Child care exchange

Day care training programs

Exchange programs between U.S. and African students, children

Provision of day care to worker's children

Teen programs on Africa

Youth employment and training programs

Sponsor Children of War tour

Religious Education programs at local religious institutions

Environment:

Advocacy of stricter federal policies on energy, fuel consumption, waste disposal, ocean dumping

Creation of new and end-use industries for waste products, e.g. ethanol

Environmental awareness campaigns on dumping, reforestation locally and in Africa

Loan programs, tax credits for energy conservation

Organize against toxic waste

Organize for city-wide recycling pick-up (paper, glass, cans)

Protect wildlife campaign

Recycle/exchange clothes and household goods, thrift stores, rummage sales

Start-up a "buy back," "cash for trash" station

Weatherization programs

Food and Hunger:

Advocacy of food programs and legislation supporting family farms

"Buy Local" program and directory

Community education program about food assistance here and in Africa

Community gardens, land trusts, land use planning

Food pantries, banks, buying clubs

Food Stamp rights education programs

Identification of new markets for farm products, e.g. organic foods

Public farmer support activities, e.g. presence at farm auctions, foreclosures

Rural support group for distressed farmers

Health Care

AIDS awareness through theater

Health care screening programs

Linking health care expenditures to economic development strategies

Nutrition education for mothers

Pre-natal care services

Presentations on Africa in hospitals, nursing homes

Military

Boycott companies that contribute to unjust economic and labor practices, e.g. United Farm Workers-organized boycott of table grapes

Don't do business with banks making loans to South Africa or other countries that violate human rights

Education campaign about effects of U.S. military policy and hardware in Africa

Encouragement of socially responsible investment

Opposition to inappropriate business activity or development

Article 1: "Start a Third World Shop: Alternative Trade Organizations Mix Business and Justice" by Jim Goetsch, *Seeds*.

One of the ways UUSC staff in Boston can be helpful to the users of the *Introductory Guide to Africa* is to provide information on the types of social action that are being organized throughout the country. The following articles are examples of what some groups of people, concerned about their communities and those in Africa, have been doing. They include an example of how to organize an Alternative Trade Organization (selling African products, for example), a fact sheet on the Nestlé and American Home Products boycott, a sample letter to the Nestlé and AHP offices, and a fact sheet on the Coca-Cola boycott.

Start A Third World Shop

Alternative trade organizations mix business and justice

By Jim Goetsch

For the past year the House Ways and Means Committee has been studying the "business" activities of charity. The distinction between small business and nonprofit charity has vanished as more businesses add the "human element" to the profit motive and more nonprofits seek to address the roots of society's ills by entering the mainstream. One development is the Alternative Trade Organization (ATO). The basic purpose of an ATO is to aid small producers in developing countries by importing and selling their products. The bulk of the money the ATO earns is returned to the third world producer. The amount can range from a third to 60 percent of earnings. ATO's emphasize educating buyers about conditions in the countries from which the goods come. Maximizing profits is not an ATO goal.

While ATO's are not new (some such as the Church of the Brethren's SERRV Self Help Handcrafts have been around since WWII), they are blossoming into an exciting example of a new approach to world trade. Total sales for all ATO's (U.S. and European) is estimated at $100 million – still a mere drop in the billion dollar economic world.

This "how-to" guide was written by Jim Goetsch, founder of ***Friends of the Third World,*** *an ATO in Indiana.*

Making the Right Choices

The easiest and most important place to start is with a mission statement that explains your goals, objectives and strategies. A basic budget stating your projected income and expenses is also vital. Here are seven key questions you should answer before beginning:

- What is the basic purpose?
- Who do we serve?
- Where are our potential markets?
- Who are our major competitors?
- What problems and restrictions affect our activities?
- How will we evaluate success or failure?
- What resources do we need (people, money, materials, skills)?

If preparing such a plan seems daunting, remember that a good plan requires good communication and numerous revisions.

For Profit or Nonprofit?

Before you make that first sale, you should determine whether your ATO will be for-profit or nonprofit, tax exempt or not.

In weighing the decision of whether to start a for-profit or nonprofit ATO, you should consider these differences:

- Small businesses can be successful selling items produced exclusively by what the IRS calls "the poor, distressed or troubled" but it entails risk.
- A small business is required to pay minimum wage to all involved, while a nonprofit can accept volunteer help.
- A nonprofit business may have to pay income taxes even if its purpose is to help only the poor and needy, unless substantially all of its work is performed for free.
- Nonprofits should also know that while tax exempt status does have some restrictions, it allows you to accept grants, donations and discounts on postage. However, import taxes and shipping costs are not waived for nonprofits.

Charting Your Progress

Once your decision to start an ATO is made, its mission established, and products, producers and markets chosen, you must next create a method for monitoring the success of the operation.

In a traditional business money is the key. However, nonprofit groups can make up for the lack of capital with donated labor and other "in-kind" resources. For example, a church could be asked to donate space and a large ATO committee can save advertising expenses by spreading the word to friends. You must remember, however, that even volunteers don't work "for nothing." They need motivation. Your cause, written in your mission statement, must be convincing enough to recruit an adequate group of people.

Careful Planning Is Crucial

All business involves risk, but good planning can make it manageable. Any project, profit or nonprofit, needs to develop a "business plan" and continually evaluate it.

Article 1 (cont'd.)

Two givens in business are people and legal existence. Large projects can be started with only a couple of committed people. But it's important to remember that if you are short on people with needed skills your project will be short on results. Have as one of your main goals enlarging your pool of volunteers or workers. The general rule for nonprofit groups is that you can get by on less money if you have more people.

You have to comply with government regulations. Your ATO will be required to report to city, county, state and national agencies. Do not assume that because you are a non-profit organization, you don't have to report to the IRS.

In general, the needs of an ATO can be most easily met by incorporating or affiliating with an existing group.

Most of the existing ATO's will share their general operating styles and catalogs and a few will share their business plans or contacts with suppliers. For those who want to open a retail outlet, most ATO's will sell to you wholesale or on consignment. One possible source of suppliers is the directory of producers available from the Crafts Center, 2001 O Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20036.

Marketing Your Product

The process of choosing suppliers can be a learning experience on both sides. A balance must be derived between a product that will sell and producers in need. Generally the more needy the producer, the more problems there will be in supply. Many ATO's designate a portion of sales toward technical assistance and losses. The more personal the contact with the producer, the better.

ATO's have tended to market handmade crafts, clothing and food from cooperatives or individuals. Most have developed contacts with one or more producers and then tried to find a market. This method is the opposite of the traditional business approach which seeks a market then develops a product or contacts an existing producer. This difference in approach is a key difference between traditional business and ATO's. Just as important to note is that ATO's emphasize direct contact with their producers, avoiding the "middlemen".

While there are more producers and products than markets, a variety of low cost market surveying methods exist that can be used to test the product you choose. For example, a simple price check of similar products is helpful. Experience has shown that the more practical the product, the easier to find the market. Paid ads are not generally effective for new, small projects. Try informal advertising such as stories in neighborhood newspapers, mailings and word of mouth to advertise your ATO.

ATO's are more successful when they match a specific product to a consumer: i.e. organic foods to natural food co-ops or African bookbags to international students.

You can market your goods in as many ways as there are ATO's. Products can be sold on consignment; through Sunday school or church bazaars; at home parties; in catalogs; at conference tables, or even out of a bus or van. The key is to match the audience to the product. You should also decide if you want to share space with other retailers or get your own fulltime storefront. ATO retailers can also consider shared or fulltime storefronts. ◆

Alternative Trade Organizations

Dry Creek Cooperative Trading
c/o Paige Whittaker
RTE 2 Box 11A
Woodbury, TN 37190

Third World Handart Arizona
445 1/2 East 4th Street
Tucson, AZ 85705

Third World Handarts California
465 N. Anaheim Blvd.
Orange, CA 92668

Third World Shoppe of Ft. Wayne
611 West Wayne Street
Fort Wayne, IN 46802

Co-op America
2100 M Street NW
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20063

Equal Exchange
PO Box 2652
Cambridge, MA 02138

Friends of the Third World, Inc.
611 West Wayne Street
Fort Wayne, IN 46802

Jubilee Crafts
300 W. Apsley Street
Philadelphia, PA 19144

Mayan Crafts
1101 N. Highland Street
Room 506
Arlington, VA 22201

One World Trading Co.
PO Box 310, Dept. Y
Summertown, PA 38483

Pueblo to People
1616 Montrose Blvd.
Houston, TX 77006

SELFHELP Crafts
704 Main Street, Box L
Akron, PA 17501

SERRV Self-Help Handcrafts
500 Main Street,
PO Box 365
New Windsor, MD
21776

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Article 2: "Sample Letters to Nestlé and American Home Products" and "Nestlé and AHP Boycott Fact Sheet". Minneapolis: Action for Corporate Accountability, 1989.

SAMPLE LETTERS TO NESTLE AND AMERICAN HOME PRODUCTS

Mr. J. R. Stafford, Chairman and CEO
American Home Products
685 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Mr. C. Alan MacDonald, President
Nestle Company
100 Manhattanville Rd.
Purchase, NY 10577

Dear _____,

Begin , if you like, with a short paragraph about you, and why you are concerned about the issue . This personal element will make your letter more effective.

I/We join with the World Health Assembly, UNICEF, and members of church, health and consumer organizations all over the world who call upon the Nestle company to stop inducing sales by dumping supplies of infant formula in hospitals and maternity wards.

I/we know that Bottle Baby Disease, a disease caused by aggressive promotion of infant formula which persuades women to bottle feed instead of breastfeed, continues to be a grave problem for many of the world's children. Bottle Baby Disease is characterized by malnutrition, dehydration and infection, and it can mean death or permanent ill-health for thousands of children every year.

Please be advised that I/we plan to boycott all Nestle/AHP products if you do not stop supplying hospitals and maternity wards with free supplies of formula and bring your company's practices into full compliance with the WHO/UNICEF International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes.

Sincerely,

your name(s)

Please send a copy of your letter, and any response you get, to Action for Corporate Accountability, 3255 Hennepin Ave. S., Suite 230, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

Article 2 (cont'd.)

1. **What is the problem addressed by Action for Corporate Accountability's Infant Health Campaign?**

The problem is Bottle Baby Disease - severe malnutrition and diarrhea, leading to death or life long handicaps - suffered by infants whose mothers have been persuaded by the aggressive marketing schemes of the infant formula industry to abandon breastfeeding and use artificial milk to feed their babies. Health experts estimate that from one to three million infants die each year from Bottle Baby Disease. In poor areas, where living conditions are unsanitary, illiteracy high and incomes low, safe preparation of infant formula is nearly impossible. Mixed with bacteria-laden water and over-diluted to make it last longer, the expensive artificial milk becomes a daily dose of disease and malnutrition. The worst offenders are the industry leaders: Swiss-based Nestle and the U.S. - based American Home Products.

2. **Hasn't there already been a boycott against Nestle about this issue?**

Yes, a seven year boycott against Nestle ended in 1984 when Nestle promised to comply with the World Health Organization's Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes and some future clarifications of a section of the Code dealing with the industry practice of providing supplies of formula to hospitals. Because of the Nestle Boycott the entire industry changed some of its worst promotional practices, and the Boycott itself was hailed as "the most important victory in the history of the international consumer movement."

3. **What is the WHO Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes?**

The Code was enacted by the World Health Assembly in 1981. The U.S., under the newly-elected Reagan administration, was the only country to vote against the Code. The Code addresses the problem of Bottle Baby Disease by restricting the ways in which infant formula can be promoted. It recognizes that infant formula is a potentially dangerous product and, therefore, must be not be marketed inappropriately. It asks for governments, health authorities, non-governmental organizations like ours, and the infant formula industry to work to see that the Code's Articles are implemented.

4. **What's the problem with giving supplies of formula to hospitals?**

Providing supplies of formula to hospital maternity wards is now and has always been one of the most effective promotional devices known to the industry and one of the most dangerous to infants. The industry knows that any free handout to a consumer dramatically increases the likelihood that the consumer will use the product. And this form of promotion through the health care system takes on a preceived hospital stamp of approval. When the mother begins to use the formula instead of breastfeeding, her own milk begins to dry up and she and her newborn become "hooked." Because this marketing technique interferes so dangerously with the initiation of breastfeeding, the World Health Assembly called for an end to the practice.

5. **Why is Action's focus back on Nestle?**

Nestle broke its promise and continues to market infant formula in ways that endanger infant health. The World Health Assembly has clarified the section of the Code concerned with supplies by resolving that the industry practice of delivering free supplies of formula to hospital maternity wards presents a danger to infants and should stop.. UNICEF has issued a similar statement. However, Nestle has refused to stop the practice.

6. **And what about American Home Products?**

The U.S.-based multinational corporation, American Home Products, has been identified by monitors for the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) as one of the worst violators of the WHO Code. Despite meetings with church organizations, letter and postcard-writing campaigns, and repeated attempts at dialogue with AHP, the corporation refuses to acknowledge its responsibility to end its aggressive promotion.

7. **What is the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN)?**

IBFAN is a coalition of over 150 citizen groups in nearly 70 countries, working for better infant and child health through the promotion of breastfeeding and the elimination of dangerous marketing of commercial infant foods, bottles and nipples. Action is a member of and provides a central office for IBFAN; there are central offices also in Geneva, Switzerland and Penang, Malaysia.

Action for Corporate Accountability•3255 Hennepin Ave. S.•Suite 230•Minneapolis, MN 55409
(612) 823-1571

Article 3: "Coke Sweetens Apartheid," Coca-Cola boycott fact sheet

Coke SWEETENS APARTHEID

Boycott Coca-Cola Products

Coke Boycott Campaign 92 Piedmont Avenue Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 586-0460 April 1989

"To be engaged in making a profit of any sort in South Africa is to be making a profit from an immoral and unjust system of oppression." - American Friends Service Committee, 1982

THE DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT

Divestment is an effective non-violent strategy to bring about fundamental change. The United States currently has sanction efforts in effect world-wide. The international movement for divestment from South Africa began in the early 1960's and has continued to grow. In the U.S. 121 state and local governments support the South African divestment movement through divestment legislation. Similar efforts, such as the 1986 South African sanctions bill, are being promoted nationally. While some corporations have totally disengaged from South Africa, others, such as Shell, IBM, and Coca-Cola, have only made sham efforts to avoid public criticism.

WHY BOYCOTT COCA-COLA?

National and international name recognition, visibility, and affordability have made Coca-Cola soft-drinks accessible to all segments of society and all societies world wide. With 69% of the market, Coca-Cola is the dominant name in the South African soft-drink industry. Its support for humanitarian causes at home contradicts Coca-Cola's support for apartheid abroad. Therefore, a boycott of Coca-Cola soft-drinks is a call for consciousness to the company to provide leadership in the business community for total economic disengagement.

HAS THE COCA-COLA COMPANY DISINVESTED FROM SOUTH AFRICA?

We say "no": Coca-Cola has not economically disengaged from South Africa, withdrawn licenses, franchises, or trademark rights, and its products are still readily available in South Africa.

Coca-Cola says "yes": As of November 1986, the Coca-Cola Company claims, "We no longer have assets or employees in South Africa, and we pay no taxes to the South African government."

YOU CAN STILL BUY A COKE IN SOUTH AFRICA!

IS COCA-COLA STILL PROFITING FROM APARTHEID?

Royalties: Licensing, franchising, and trademark rights bring in royalites.

Swazi Investments: Relocation of its syrup plant from South Africa to Swaziland is meaningless as long as: 1) Swaziland is subject to South Africa's economic and political control; and 2) Coca-Cola's major market for the syrup is not Swaziland's minute population of 750 thousand, but South Africa's population of 35 million.

Trade: Coca-Cola trades with the apartheid regime by selling its syrup from Swaziland to South African bottlers. All trade between Swaziland and South Africa requires special trade arrangements with the South African apartheid government.

Availability: Coca-Cola products monopolize 69% of the soft-drink market in South Africa.

Promotion: In spite of its "disinvestment," Coca-Cola aggressively promotes its products in South Africa. This is clearly seen in their boast of the steady growth in the number of spazas, back yard black township vendors.

Tokensim: Coca-Cola boasts of black "empowerment," yet by only offering 11% of their shares in Amalgamated Beverage Industries to blacks, they have created a token black middle class which they can easily manipulate.

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Article 3 (cont'd.)

IS APARTHEID PROFITING FROM COCA-COLA?

Image: Coca-Cola's presence in South Africa legitimizes the presence of other international companies despite sanctions. This enhances the image the apartheid government tries to project.

Revenue: Coca-Cola sells its syrup and leases its trademark to 15 independent South African distributors, who in turn sell Coca-Cola. These sales generate the revenue that enables apartheid to oppress and kill South African men, women and children.

BOYCOTT COCA-COLA SOFT-DRINKS

What are Coca-Cola products?

Soft-drinks:
Coca-Cola
TAB
Sprite
Mellow Yellow
Fresca
Ramblin Root Beer
Mr. Pibb
Hi-C sodas
Fanta
Santiba
Minute Maid sodas

Foods:
Minute Maid juices and ades
Five Alive beverages
Bright and Early beverages
Hi-C fruit drinks
Maryland Club coffee
Butter-Nutt coffee
MAX energy drink
Belmont Springs Spring Water
Nemasket Spring Water

Entertainment:
Columbia Pictures
Tri-Star Pictures
Columbia Pictures Television
Embassy Television
Columbia Pictures Pay Television
Columbia Pictures Publications
RCA/Columbia Home Video
Walter Reade Theatres

What can YOU do?

1. Write to Coca-Cola asking them to remove their products from South Africa, and send a copy of your letter to the Coke Boycott Campaign. Write to:

   Carl Ware
   Senior Vice President
   Urban Affairs
   The Coca-Cola Company
   P.O. Drawer 1734
   Atlanta, GA 30301

2. Boycott Coca-Cola soft-drinks.
3. Create "Coke-Free Zones." (A coke free zone is an area from which Coca-Cola products have been removed through the initiative of campaign supporters. For example, a college campus or a restaurant that no longer sells Coca-Cola soft-drinks.)
4. Educate and organize your friends and community to join the Coke Boycott Campaign.
5. Support and advertise the Campaign.
6. Write the Campaign for more information!

Boycott Co-Sponsors and Endorsers:
(partial listing)
American Friends Service Committe
American Committee on Africa
Georgia Coalition for Divestment in South Africa
National Black United Front
Washington Office on Africa
ACTWU-Southern Region
Atlanta Committee on Latin America
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism
Colorado Coalition vs. Apartheid
Florida State University Student Anti-Apartheid Committee
National Lawyers Guild
New Afrikan People's Organization
Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism
U.S. Out of Southern Africa Network/All People's Congress
War Resisters League
SANE/FREEZE

ALGERIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 2,381,741 (919,595)

Climate: mediterranean to arid

Capital (population): Algiers (1,721,607)

Population: 23,135,000

Life expectancy at birth: 60 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 85

Languages: Arabic, French, Berber dialects

Religion(s): Muslim

School-age population in school: 60%

Adult literacy rate: 50%

Government type: socialist republic

Independence date: July 3, 1968; from France

Head of state: Col. Bendjedid Chadli

Per capita GNP: $2,590

Natural resources: crude oil, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, uranium, lead, zinc, mercury, fish

Agriculture: wheat, grains, olives, grapes, dates, citrus fruits, livestock

ANGOLA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,246,700 (481,354)

Climate: tropical and subtropical

Population: 9,150,000

Capital (population): Luanda (1,200,000)

Life expectancy at birth: 42 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 144

Languages: official: Portuguese; also: Ovimbundu, Kimbundu, Bakongo, Bantu languages

Religion(s): 84% traditional indigenous, 12% Roman Catholic, 4% Protestant

School-age population in school: 38%

Adult literacy rate: 39%

Government type: socialist republic, one-party rule

Independence date: Nov. 11, 1975; from Portugal

Head of state: President Jose Edouardo dos Santos

Per capita GNP: $470

Natural resources: oil, diamonds, manganese, gold, uranium

Agriculture: coffee, sisal, corn, cotton, fish, sugar, manioc, tobacco, bananas, plantains

BENIN

Area in square kilometers (miles): 112,622 (43,484)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Porto-Novo (208,258)

Population: 4,095,000

Life expectancy at birth: 47 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 145

Languages: official: French; also: Fon-Ewe, Yoruba, Adja, Bariba, others

Religion(s): 70% traditional indigenous; 18% Muslim; 12% Christian

School-age population in school: 38%

Adult literacy rate: 28%

Government type: people's republic under military rule

Independence date: Aug. 1, 1960; from France

Head of state: President General Mathieu Kérékou

Per capita GNP: $270

Natural resources: none known in commercial quantities

Agriculture: palm products, cotton, corn yams, cassava, cocoa, coffee

BOTSWANA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 600,372 (231,805)

Climate: arid and semiarid

Capital (population): Gaborone (79,000)

Population: 1,155,000

Life expectancy at birth: 56 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 64

Languages: official: Setswana, English; also: Khoisan

Religion(s): 85% traditional indigenous; 15% Christian

School-age population in school: 56%

Adult literacy rate: 71%

Government type: parliamentary republic

Independence date: Sept. 30, 1966; from Great Britain

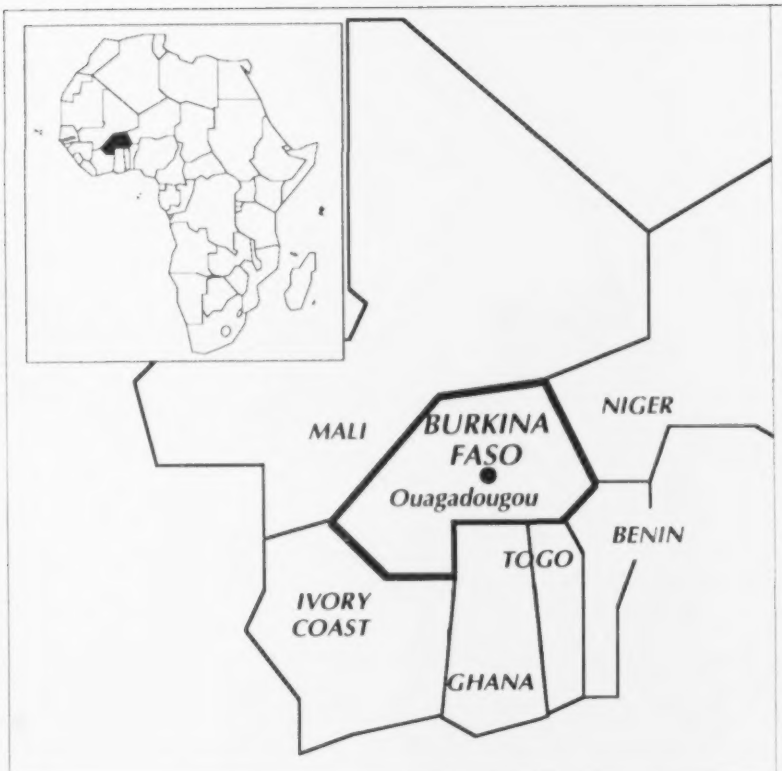
Head of state: President Quett K.J. Masire

Per capita GNP: $840

Natural resources: diamonds, copper, nickel, salt, soda ash, potash, coal

Agriculture: livestock, sorghum, corn, millet, cowpeas, beans

BURKINA FASO



Area in square kilometers (miles): 274,200 (105,792)

Climate: tropical to arid

Capital (population): Ouagadougou (345,150)

Population: 7,195,000

Life expectancy at birth: 45 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 160

Languages: official: French; also: Mossi, Fula Bobo, Mande, Lobi, Gurunsi, others

Religion(s): 65% traditional indigenous; 25% Muslim; 10% Christian

School-age population in school: 12%

Adult literacy rate: 13%

Government type: people's republic

Independence date: Aug. 5, 1960; from France

Head of state: Prime Minister (Captain) Blaise Campaoré

Per capita GNP: $150

Natural resources: manganese, limestone, marble, uranium, bauxite

Agriculture: millet, sorghum, corn, rice, livestock, peanuts, sugar cane, cotton

BURUNDI

Area in square kilometers (miles): 27,834 (10,745)

Climate: tropical to temperate

Capital (population): Bujumbura (229,980)

Population: 5,000,000

Life expectancy at birth: 47 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 119

Languages: official: Kirundi, French; also: Kiswahili, others

Religion(s): 60% Christian; 38% traditional indigenous, 2% Muslim

School-age population in school: 23%

Adult literacy rate: 34%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: July 1, 1962; from Belgium

Head of state: Pres. Maj. Pierre Buyoya

Per capita GNP: $240

Natural resources: nickel, uranium, gold, cobalt, copper, platinum

Agriculture: coffee, tea, cotton, food crops, hides, palm oil

CAMEROON

Area in square kilometers (miles): 475,442 (183,569)

Climate: tropical to semiarid

Capital (population): Yaoundé (561,000)

Population: 10,145,000

Life expectancy at birth: 51 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 103

Languages: official: English, French; also: Fula, Ewondo, Duala, Bamilike, Bassa, Bali, others

Religion(s): 50% traditional indigenous; 33% Christian; 17% Muslim

School-age population in school: 56%

Adult literacy rate: 56%

Government type: republic

Independence date: Jan. 1, 1960; from France and Great 3Britain

Head of state: President Paul Biya

Per capita GNP: $910

Natural resources: timber, oil, bauxite, iron ore, rubber

Agriculture: coffee, cocoa, food crops, cotton, bananas, peanuts, tobacco, tea

CAPE VERDE

Area in square kilometers (miles): 4,033 (1,557)

Climate: temperate

Capital (population): Praia (37,500)

Population: 335,000

Life expectancy at birth: 65 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 82

Languages: official: Portuguese; also: Kriolu

Religion(s): 65% Catholic; 35% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 48%

Government type: republic

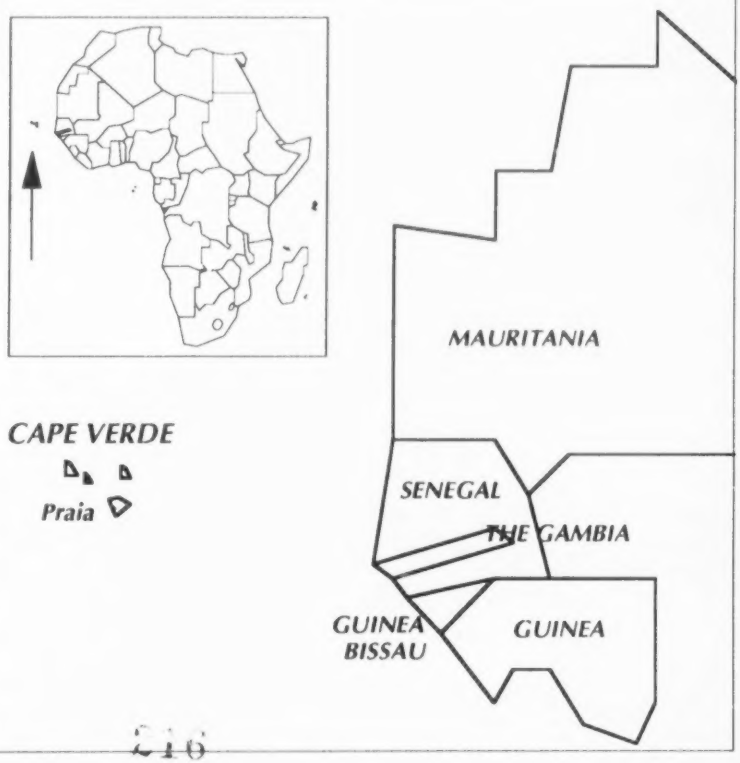
Independence date: July 5, 1975; from Portugal

Head of state: President Aristides Pereira

Per capita GNP: $460

Natural resources: fish, salt

Agriculture: corn, beans, manioc, sweet potatoes, bananas



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Area in square kilometers (miles): 622,984 (240,535)

Climate: tropical to semiarid

Capital (population): Bangui (387,100)

Population: 2,785,000

Life expectancy at birth: 45 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 136

Languages: official: French; also: Sangho, Banda, Baya, Mangia, M'Baka

Religion(s): 40% Protestant; 28% Catholic; 24% traditional indigenous; 8% Muslim

School-age population in school: 41%

Adult literacy rate: 40%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: Aug. 13, 1960; from France

Head of state: General André-Dieudonné Kolingba

Per capita GNP: $290

Natural resources: diamonds, uranium, timber

Agriculture: coffee, cotton, peanuts, food crops, livestock

CHAD

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,284,634 (495,755)

Climate: arid to semiarid

Capital (population): N'Djamena (303,000)

Population: 5,265,000

Life expectancy at birth: 43 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 142

Languages: official: French; also: Chadian Arabic, Fula, Hausa, Kotoko, Kanembou, Sara Maba, others

Religion(s): 52% Muslim; 43% traditional indigenous; 5% Christian

School-age population in school: 21%

Adult literacy rate: 25%

Government type: republic

Independence date: Aug. 11, 1960; from France

Head of state: President Hissene Habré

Per capita GNP: $120

Natural resources: petroleum, uranium, natron, kaolin

Agriculture: food crops, cotton, cattle, fish, sugar

COMOROS

Area in square kilometers (miles): 2,171 (838)

Climate: tropical, marine

Capital (population): Moroni (20,112)

Population: 484,000

Life expectancy at birth: 56 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 93

Languages: official: Arabic, French; also: Comoran, Kiswahili, English, Malagasy

Religion(s): 86% Muslim; 14% Catholic

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 60%

Government type: islamic republic

Independence date: July 6, 1975; from France

Head of state: President Ahmed Abdullah Abderemane

Per capita GNP: $320

Natural resources: none known in commercial quantities

Agriculture: perfume essences, copra, coconuts, cloves, vanilla, cinnamon, yams, rice, bananas

CONGO

Area in square kilometers (miles): 342,000 (132,047)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Brazzaville (595,102)

Population: 2,000,000

Life expectancy at birth: 48 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 112

Languages: official: French; also: Lingala, Kikongo, Teke, Sangha, M'Bochi, others

Religion(s): 48% traditional indigenous; 50% Christian; 2% Muslim

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 63%

Government type: socialist republic under military rule

Independence date: Aug. 15, 1960; from France

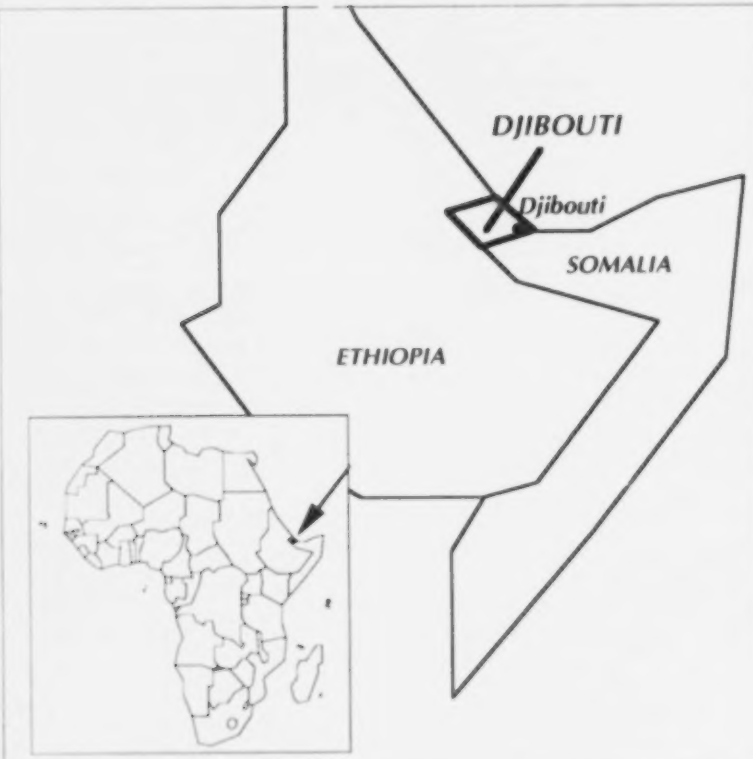
Head of state: President (Colonel) Denis Sassou Nguesso

Per capita GNP: $990

Natural resources: wood, potash, petroleum, natural gas

Agriculture: cocoa, coffee, tobacco, palm kernels, sugarcane, rice, peanuts

DJIBOUTI



Area in square kilometers (miles): 23,310 (8,880)

Climate: arid to semiarid

Capital (population): Djibouti (150,000)

Population: 361,000

Life expectancy at birth: 49 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): n/a

Languages: official: Arabic, French; also: Somali, Afar

Religion(s): 94% Muslim; 6% Christian

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 20%

Government type: republic

Independence date: June 27, 1977; from France

Head of state: President Hassan Gouled Aptidon

Per capita GNP: $480

Natural resources: none known in commercial quantities

Agriculture: goats, sheep, camels, cattle, coffee

EGYPT

Area in square kilometers (miles): 997,738 (385,229)

Climate: hot, arid

Capital (population): Cairo (6,205,000)

Population: 50,540,000

Life expectancy at birth: 58 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 94

Languages: Arabic, some English

Religion(s): 90% Muslim; 10% other

School-age population in school: 52%

Adult literacy rate: 44%

Government type: republic

Independence date: Feb. 22, 1922; from Great Britain

Head of state: President Lt. General Mohammed Hosni Mubarak

Per capita GNP: $760

Natural resources: petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, manganese, limestone, gypsum, talc, lead, zinc

Agriculture: cotton, rice, onions, beans, citrus fruits, wheat, corn, barley, sugar cane, fish, livestock

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 28,051 (10,831)

Climate: equatorial, tropical, hot, humid

Capital (population): Malabo (30,710)

Population: 400,000

Life expectancy at birth: 44 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 134

Languages: official: Spanish; also: Fang, Benge, Combe, Bujeba, Balengue, Fernandino, Bubi, pidgin English

Religion(s): 60% Catholic; 20% Protestant; 20% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 66%

Adult literacy rate: 40%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: Oct. 12, 1968; from Spain

Head of state: Lt. Colonel Teodoro Obiang Ngeuma Mbasogo

Per capita GNP: $417

Natural resources: gold, timber, fish

Agriculture: cocoa, coffee, rice, yams, bananas

ERITREA*

Area in square kilometers (miles): 129,874 (50,000)

Climate: temperate to arid

Capital (population): Asmara (300,000)

Population: 3,500,000

Life expectancy at birth: 43 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 84

Languages: Tigrinya, Tigre, Arabic, others

Religion(s): 48% Christian; 48% Muslim; 4% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 12%

Head of Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF): Sec. Gen. Issayas Affeworki

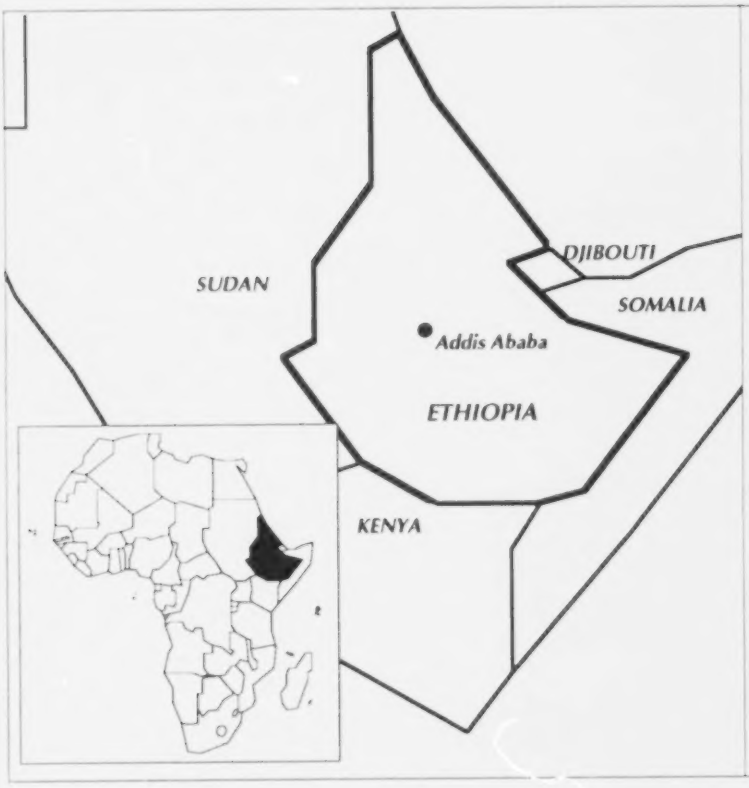
Per capita GNP: n/a

Natural resources: some mineral deposits (gold, iron, copper, lignite)

Agriculture: coffee, cotton, maize, wheat, teff, millet, livestock, sorghum, oil seeds

* Eritrea has been engaged in armed conflict for independence from Ethiopia since 1961. Originally colonized by Italy, Eritrea was federated under the Ethiopian crown by U.N. resolution 390A in 1952. Relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia deteriorated until Emperor Haile Selassi declared Eritrea a province of Ethiopia and dissolved the Eritrean parliament in 1962.

ETHIOPIA



Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,223,600 (472,435)

Climate: temperate to arid

Capital (population): Addis Ababa (1,408,068)

Population: 45,170,000

Life expectancy at birth: 43 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 168

Languages: official: Amharic; also: Tigrinya, Oromo, Somali, Arabic, Italian, English, others

Religion(s): 40% Muslim; 40% Ethiopian Orthodox Christian; 20% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 19%

Adult literacy rate: 15%

Government type: socialist republic

Independence date: none (brief occupation by Italy)

Head of state: Mengistu Haile Mariam

Per capita GNP: $120

Natural resources: potash, salt, gold, copper, platinum

Agriculture: cereals, coffee, oil seeds, livestock

GABON

Area in square kilometers (miles): 267,667 (103,347)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Libreville (350,000)

Population: 1,370,000

Life expectancy at birth: 49 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 112

Languages: official: French; also: Fang, Eshira, Bopounou, Batake, Okande, Myene

Religion(s): 55% Christian; 44% traditional indigenous; 1% Muslim

School-age population in school: 72%

Adult literacy rate: 62%

Government type: republic; one-party presidential regime

Independence date: Aug. 17, 1960; from France

Head of state: President El Hadj Omar Bongo

Per capita GNP: $3,080

Natural resources: timber, petroleum, iron ore, manganese, uranium, gold, zinc

Agriculture: cocoa, coffee, palm oil

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THE GAMBIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 11,295 (4,361)

Climate: subtropical

Capital (population): Banjul (49,181)

Population: 800,000

Life expectancy at birth: 40 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 180

Languages: official: English; also: Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Sarakola, Diula

Religion(s): 85% Muslim; 14% Christian; 1% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 31%

Adult literacy rate: 25%

Government type: republic

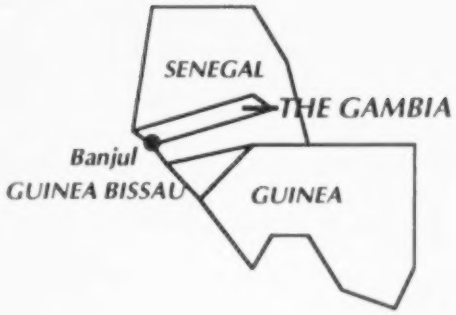
Independence date: February 18, 1965; from Great Britain

Head of state: Pres. (Sir) Alhaji Dawda Kairaba Jawara

Per capita GNP: $250

Natural resources: fish, ilmenite, zircon, rutile

Agriculture: peanuts, rice, cotton, millet, sorghum, fish, palm kernels, livestock



GHANA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 238,829 (92,098)

Climate: tropical to semiarid

Capital (population): Accra (998,800)

Population: 13,630,000

Life expectancy at birth: 53 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 78

Languages: official: English; also: Fanti, Asante, Twi, Ewe, Ga, Akan, Mole-Dagbani, Hausa, others

Religion(s): 45% traditional indigenous; 43% Christian; 12% Muslim

School-age population in school: 47%

Adult literacy rate: 53%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: March 6, 1957; from Great Britain

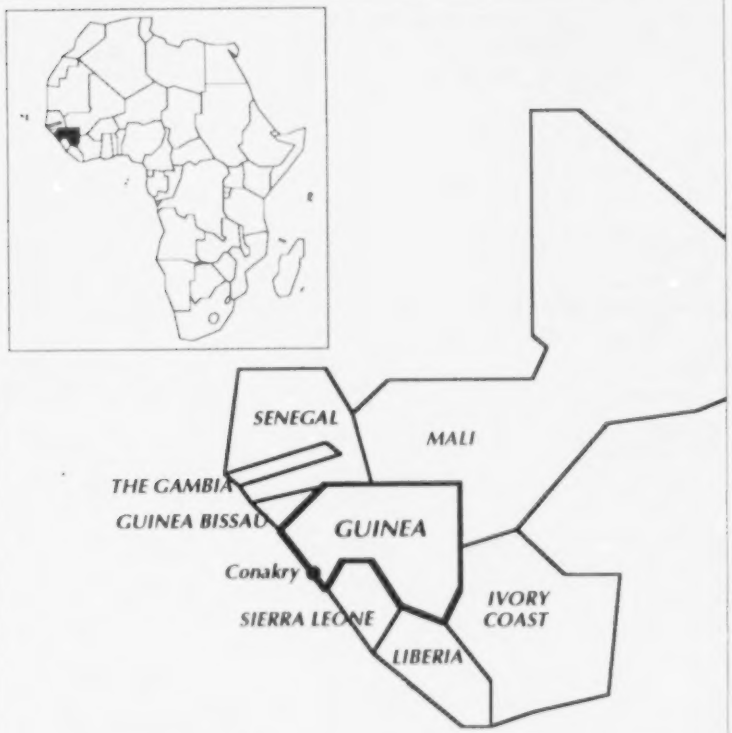
Head of state: Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings

Per capita GNP: $390

Natural resources: gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese, fish, timber, oil

Agriculture: cocoa, coconuts, coffee, food crops, rubber

GUINEA



Area in square kilometers (miles): 246,857 (94,926)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Conakry (763,000)

Population: 6,330,000

Life expectancy at birth: 40 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 152

Languages: official: French; also: Fula, Mandinka, Susu, others

Religion(s): 75% Muslim; 24% traditional indigenous; 1% Christian

School-age population in school: 17%

Adult literacy rate: 28%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: Oct. 2, 1958; from France

Head of state: President (Col.) Lansana Conté

Per capita GNP: $290

Natural resources: bauxite, iron ore, diamonds, gold, water power

Agriculture: rice, cassava, millet, corn, coffee, bananas, palm products, pineapples

GUINEA-BISSAU

Area in square kilometers (miles): 36,125 (13,948)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Bissau (109,486)

Population: 905,000

Life expectancy at birth: 39 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 149

Languages: official: Portuguese; also: Kriolo, Fula, Mandinka, Balante, others

Religion(s): 65% traditional indigenous; 32% Muslim; 3% Christian

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 31%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: Sept. 24, 1973; from Portugal

Head of state: President (Maj.) Joao Bernardo Vieira

Per capita GNP: $170

Natural resources: bauxite, timber, shrimp, fish

Agriculture: peanuts, rice, palm kernels, groundnuts

IVORY COAST

Area in square kilometers (miles): 320,763 (123,847)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Abidjan (1,686,100)

Population: 10,680,000

Life expectancy at birth: 49 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 94

Languages: official: French; also: Dioula, Agni, Baoulé, Kru, Senufo, Mandinka, others

Religion(s): 66% traditional indigenous; 22% Muslim; 12% Christian

School-age population in school: 41%

Adult literacy rate: 43%

Government type: republic

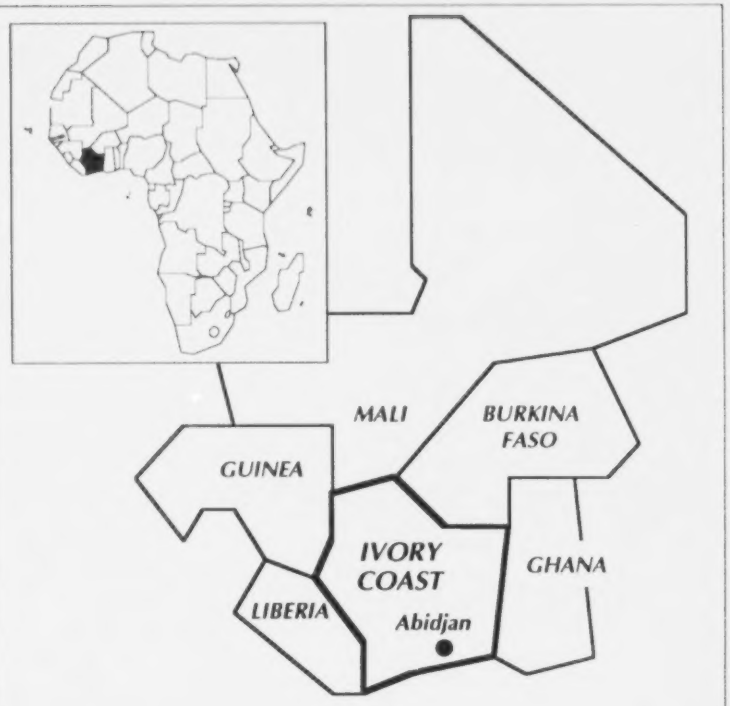
Independence date: Aug. 7, 1960; from France

Head of state: President Félix Houphouët-Boigny

Per capita GNP: $730

Natural resources: timber

Agriculture: coffee, cocoa, bananas, palm oil, corn, millet, cotton, rubber



KENYA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 582,646 (224,961)

Climate: tropical to arid

Capital (population): Nairobi (1,200,000)

Population: 24,555,000

Life expectancy at birth: 54 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 61

Languages: official: English, Kiswahili; also: Kikuyu, Kikamba, Kalenjin, Maasai, Luhya, Luo, Kisii, Nandi, Somali, others

Religion(s): 35% traditional indigenous; 37% Protestant; 22% Catholic; 6% Muslim

School-age population in school: 62%

Adult literacy rate: 59%

Government type: one-party republic

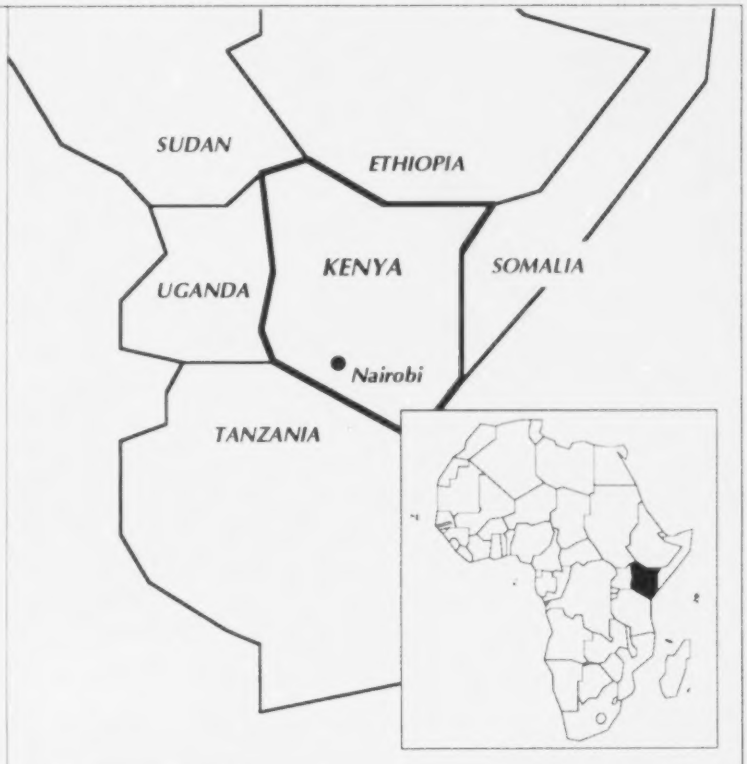
Independence date: Dec. 12, 1963; from Great Britain

Head of state: President Daniel arap Moi

Per capita GNP: $300

Natural resources: wildlife, soda ash

Agriculture: corn, wheat, rice, sugar cane, coffee, tea, sisal, livestock



LESOTHO

Area in square kilometers (miles): 30,355 (11,720)

Climate: temperate

Capital (population): Maseru (75,000)

Population: 1,575,000

Life expectancy at birth: 51 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 100

Languages: official: English, Sesotho; also: Xhosa, Zulu

Religion(s): 75% Christian; 25% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 62%

Adult literacy rate: 74%

Government type: constitutional monarchy

Independence date: Oct. 4, 1966; from Great Britain

Head of state: King Moshoeshoe II

Per capita GNP: $370

Natural resources: diamonds

Agriculture: mohair, corn, wheat, sorghum, food crops, sheep, cattle

LIBERIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 111,369 (43,000)

Climate: tropical

Capital (population): Monrovia (425,000)

Population: 2,290,000

Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 130

Languages: official: English; also: Kpelle, Bassa, Dan, Vai, Loma, Kru, Glebo, Mano, Gola

Religion(s): 75% traditional indigenous; 15% Muslim; 10% Christian

School-age population in school: 44%

Adult literacy rate: 35%

Government type: republic

Independence date: July 26, 1847, by settler government of freed American slaves

Head of state: President Samuel Kanyon Doe

Per capita GNP: $460

Natural resources: iron ore, rubber, timber, diamonds

Agriculture: rubber, rice, palm oil, cassava, coffee, cocoa, sugar

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LIBYA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,775,500 (685,524)

Climate: hot, arid

Capital (population): Tripoli (1,223,000); Hun (declared administrative capital)

Population: 3,930,000

Life expectancy at birth: 59 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 84

Languages: official: Arabic, some Italian, Berber dialects

Religion(s): Muslim

School-age population in school: 80%

Adult literacy rate: 67%

Government type: Islamic people's republic

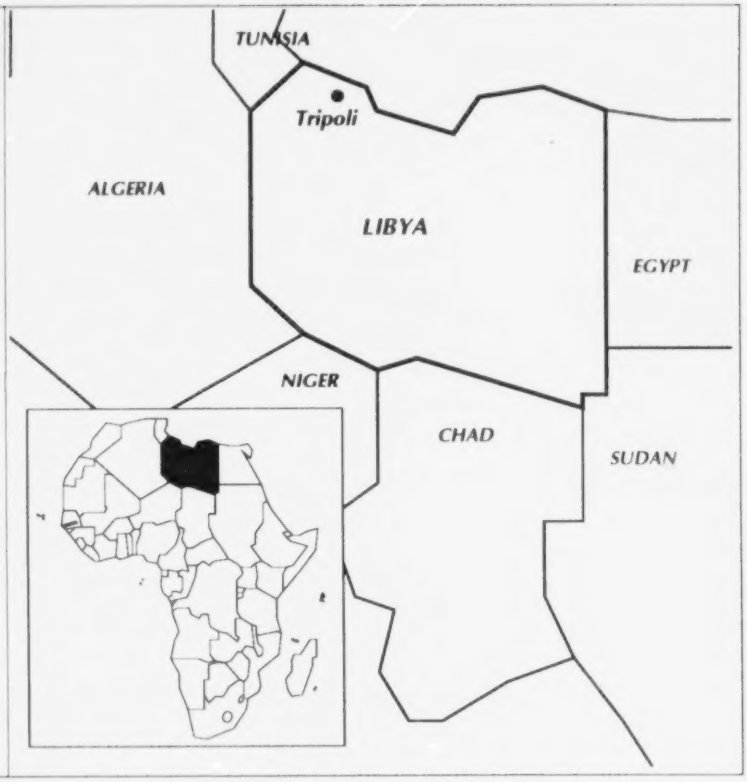
Independence date: Dec. 24, 1951; from Great Britain, France

Head of state: Col. Moammar al Qaddafi

Per capita GNP: $6,260

Natural resources: petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, phosphates, fish

Agriculture: wheat, barley, olives, dates, citrus fruits, peanuts, livestock



MADAGASCAR

Area in square kilometers (miles): 587,041 (226,658)

Climate: tropical and moderate

Capital (population): Antananarivo (700,000)

Population: 10,375,000

Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 63

Languages: official: Malagasy; also: French, others

Religion(s): 50% traditional indigenous; 42% Christian; 8% Muslim

School-age population in school: 61%

Adult literacy rate: 68%

Government type: socialist republic under military control

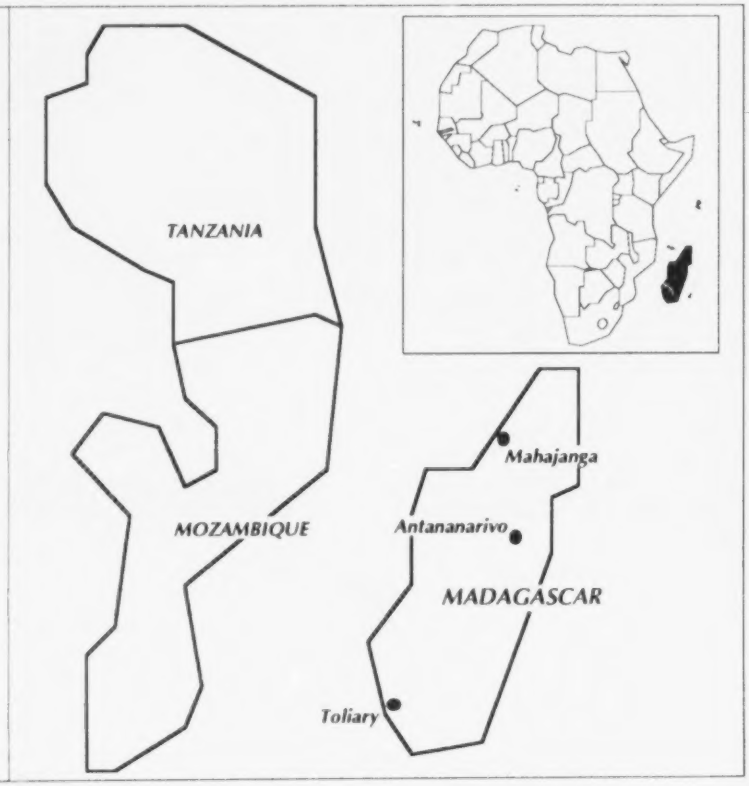
Independence date: June 26, 1960; from France

Head of state: President (Col.) Didier Ratsiraka

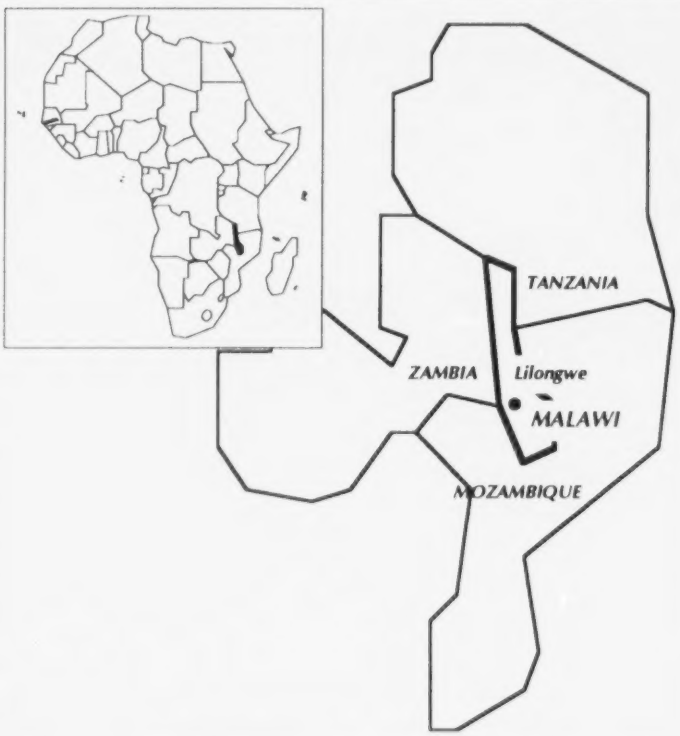
Per capita GNP: $230

Natural resources: graphite, chrome, coal, bauxite, ilmenite, tar sands, semiprecious stones, timber, mica, nickel

Agriculture: rice, livestock, coffee, vanilla, sugar, cloves, cotton, sisal, peanuts, tobacco



MALAWI



Area in square kilometers (miles): 118,484 (45,747)

Climate: subtropical

Capital (population): Lilongwe (103,000)

Population: 7,405,000

Life expectancy at birth: 45 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 161

Languages: official: Chichewa, English; also: Nyanja, Yao, Sena, Tumbuka

Religion(s): 60% traditional indigenous; 20% Christian; 20% Muslim

School-age population in school: 35%

Adult literacy rate: 41%

Government type: one-party republic

Independence date: July 6, 1964; from Great Britain

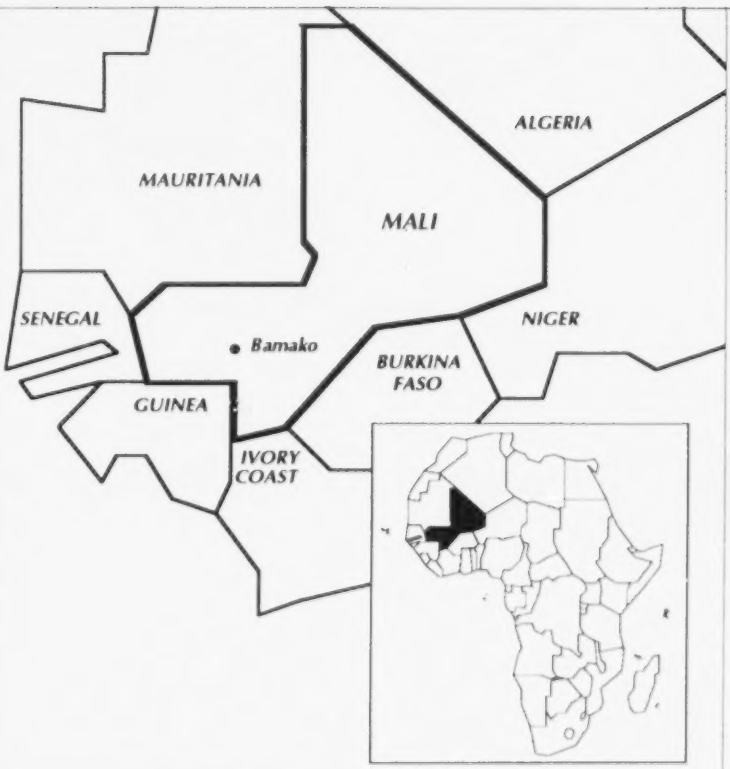
Head of state: President-for-Life H. Kamuzu Banda

Per capita GNP: $160

Natural resources: limestone, uranium

Agriculture: tobacco, tea, sugar, corn, peanuts

MALI



Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,240,142 (478,767)

Climate: tropical to arid

Capital (population): Bamako (502,000)

Population: 7,985,000

Life expectancy at birth: 42 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 174

Languages: official: French; also: Bambara, Mandurka, Voltaic, Tamajaq, Dogon, Fula, Songhai

Religion(s): 90% Muslim; 9% traditional indigenous; 1% Christian

School-age population in school: 13%

Adult literacy rate: 17%

Government type: republic

Independence date: June 20, 1960; from France

Head of state: President (Gen.) Moussa Traoré

Per capita GNP: $180

Natural resources: bauxite, iron ore, manganese, lithium, phosphate, kaolin, salt, limestone, gold

Agriculture: millet, sorghum, corn, rice, sugar, cotton, peanuts, livestock

MAURITANIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,030,700 (397,956)

Climate: arid to semiarid

Capital (population): Nouakchott (250,000)

Population: 2,000,000

Life expectancy at birth: 45 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 137

Languages: official: Arabic, French; also: Hasanya, Bambara, Fula, Sarakole, Wolof, Berber dialects, Pulaar

Religion(s): Muslim

School-age population in school: 25%

Adult literacy rate: 17%

Government type: Islamic military republic

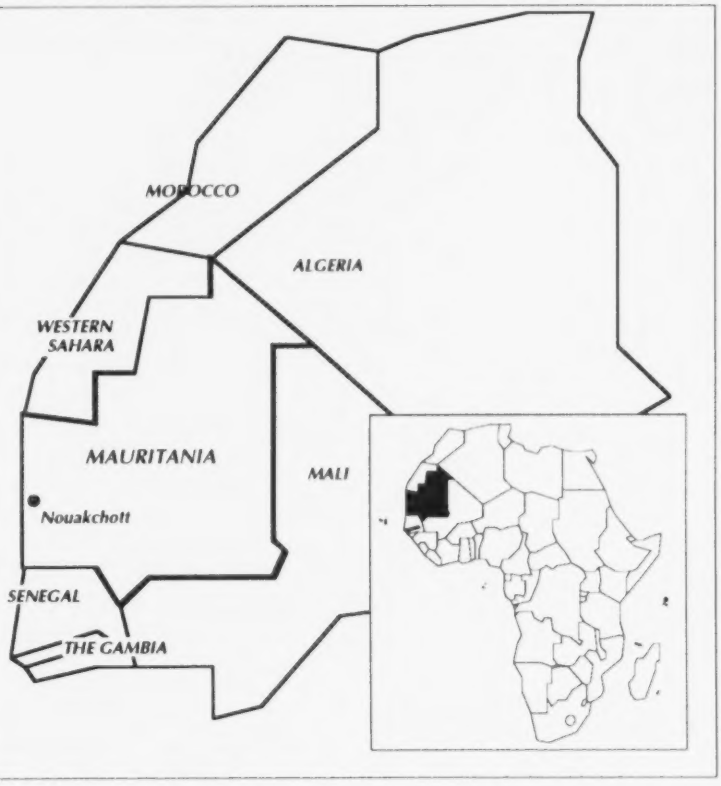
Independence date: Nov. 28, 1960; from France

Head of state: President Col. Maaoulya Ould Sid' Ahmed Taya

Per capita GNP: $420

Natural resources: iron ore, gypsum, fish, copper

Agriculture: livestock, millet, corn, wheat, dates, rice, peanuts



MAURITIUS

Area in square kilometers (miles): 2,045 (788)

Climate: subtropical, marine

Capital (population): Port Louis (146,844)

Population: 1,600,000

Life expectancy at birth: 67 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 26

Languages: official: English; also: French, Creole, Hindi, Urdu

Religion(s): 51% Hindu; 30% Christian; 16% Muslim; 3% other

School-age population in school: 63%

Adult literacy rate: 83%

Government type: republic, recognizes British monarch as chief of state

Independence date: March 12, 1968; from Great Britain

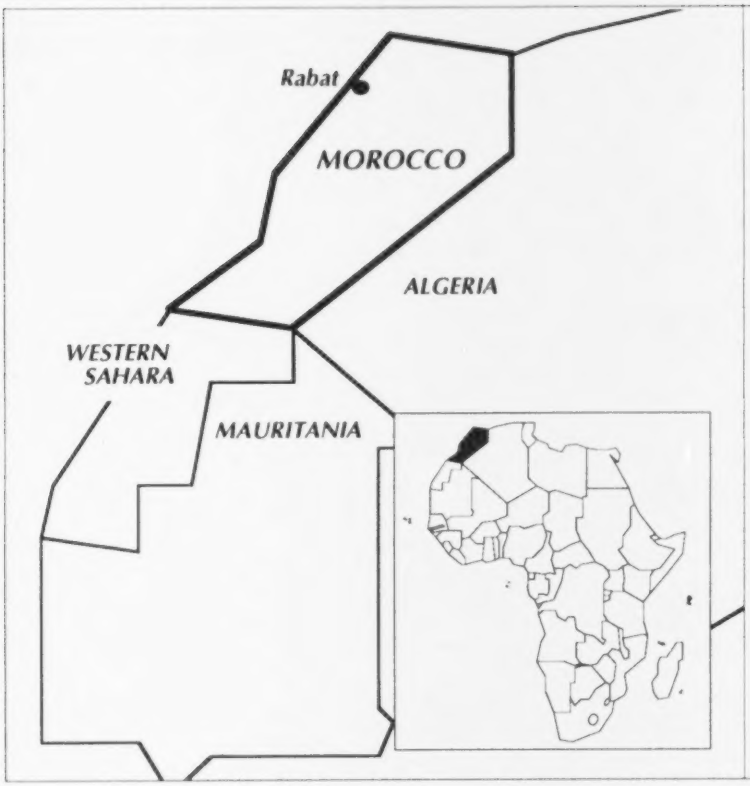
Head of state: Gov.-Gen. Veerasamy Ringadoo

Per capita GNP: $1,200

Natural resources: none known in commercial quantities

Agriculture: sugar, tea, tobacco

MOROCCO



Area in square kilometers (miles): 446,550 (172,414)

Climate: mediterranean to arid

Capital (population): Rabat (901,500)

Population: 23,915,000

Life expectancy at birth: 58 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 95

Languages: official: Arabic, French; also: Berber dialects

Religion(s): 99% Muslim; 1% other

School-age population in school: 39%

Adult literacy rate: 33%

Government type: constitutional monarchy

Independence date: March 2, 1956; from France

Head of state: HM King Hassan II

Per capita GNP: $590

Natural resources: phosphates, iron, coal, manganese, lead, cobalt, silver, copper, oil shale, fish

Agriculture: wheat, sugar beets, barley, livestock, wine, vegetables, olives

MOZAMBIQUE

Area in square kilometers (miles): 783,030 (308,642)

Climate: tropical to subtropical

Capital (population): Maputo (850,000)

Population: 14,210,000

Life expectancy at birth: 47 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 125

Languages: official: Portuguese; also: Yao, Tumbuka, Batonga, Makua

Religion(s): 67% traditional indigenous; 22% Christian; 11% Muslim

School-age population in school: 27%

Adult literacy rate: 38%

Government type: people's republic

Independence date: June 25, 1975; from Portugal

Head of state: President Joaquim Chissano

Per capita GNP: $210

Natural resources: coal, iron ore, tantalite, flourite, timber

Agriculture: cotton, tobacco, cashews, sugar, tea, copra, sisal, food crops

223

NAMIBIA*

Area in square kilometers (miles): 824,292 (318,261)

Climate: arid; semiarid

Capital (population): Windhoek (88,700)

Population: 1,180,000

Life expectancy at birth: 48 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 112

Languages: official: English, Afrikaans; also: Ouambo, Kavango, Nama, Herero

Religion(s): 55% traditional indigenous; 45% Christian

School-age population in school: 74%

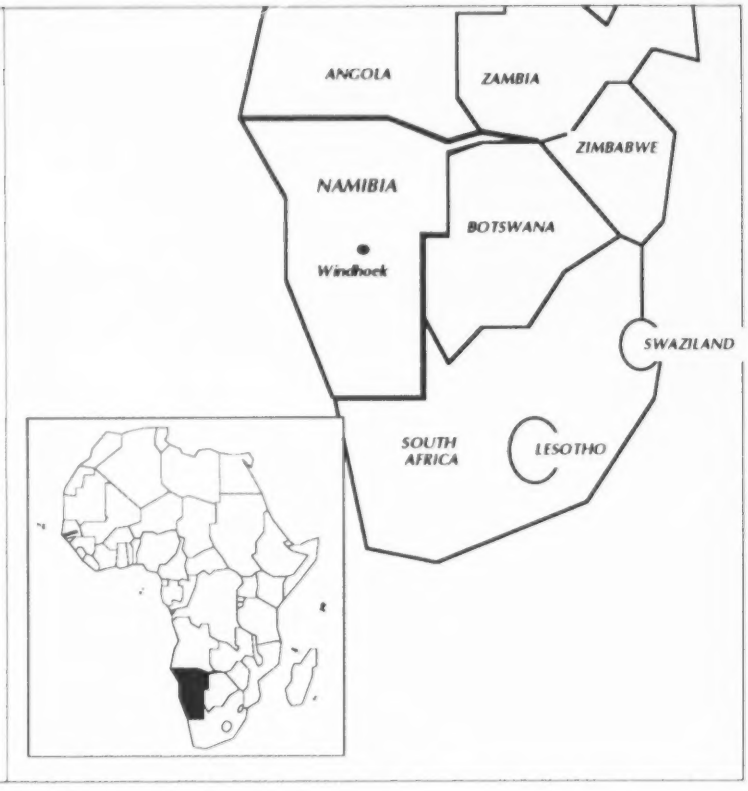
Adult literacy rate: 72%

Head of state: Admin.-Gen. Louis Pienaar; U.N. Commissioner: Bernt Carlsson; SWAPO leader: Sam Nujoma

Natural resources: diamonds, copper, lead, zinc, uranium, silver, cadmium, lithium, coal, possible oil reserves, fish

Agriculture: corn, millet, sorghum, livestock

* The target date for Namibia's independence from South Africa is currently being negotiated. Namibia was a German colony until the end of World War I when the region was turned over to South Africa. Since 1976, the U. N. has recognized the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)as sole representative of the Namibian people. After recent discussions between the U.S., Cuba, South Africa, and Angola, a 3-phase independence process was initiated. U.N. peacekeeping forces are overseeing the transition to Namibian independence.



NIGER

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,267,000 (489,191)

Climate: arid to semiarid

Capital (population): Niamey (399,100)

Population: 6,820,000

Life expectancy at birth: 44 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 137

Languages: official: French; also: Hausa, Djerma, Fula, Tamajaq, Kanuri

Religion(s): 95% Muslim; 5% traditional indigenous and Christian

School-age population in school: 13%

Adult literacy rate: 14%

Government type: republic under military control

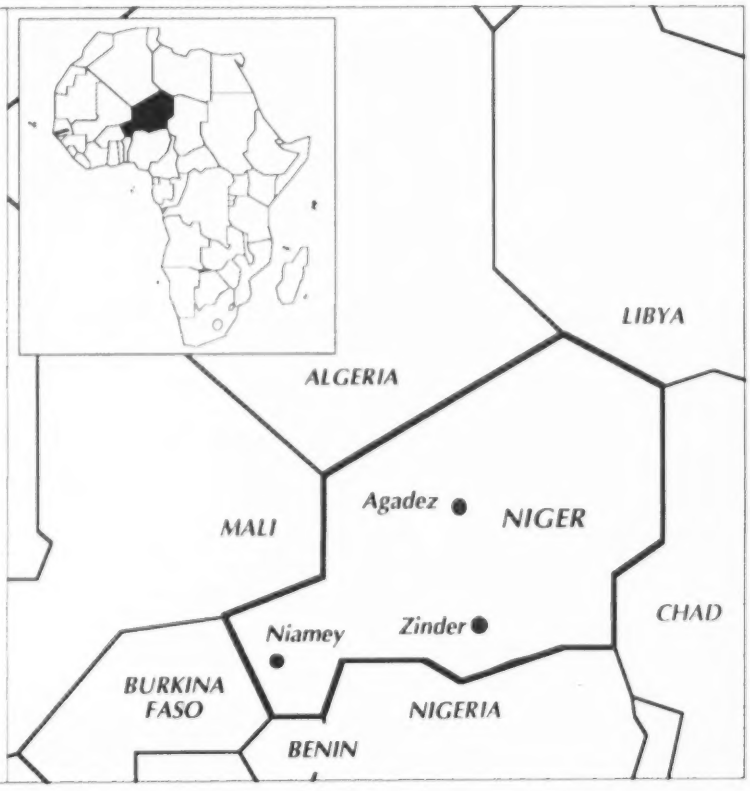
Independence date: Aug. 3, 1960; from France

Head of state: President (Gen.) Ali Seibou

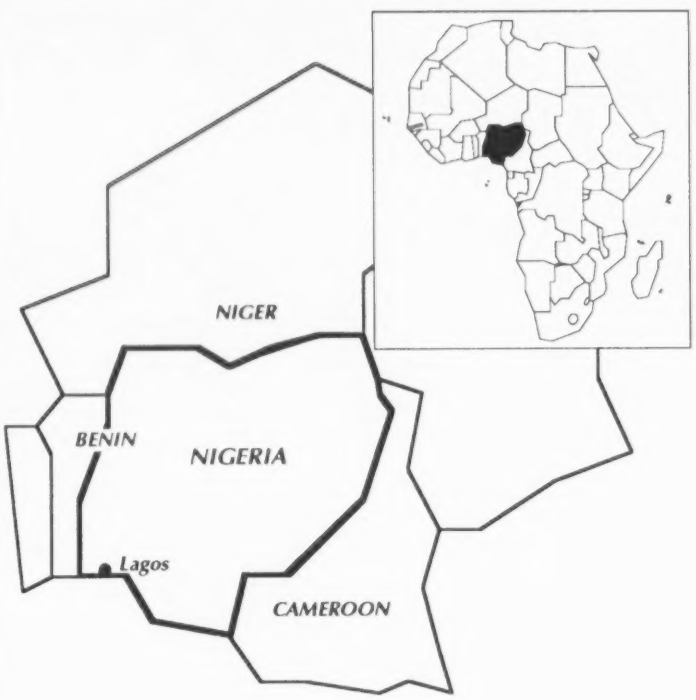
Per capita GNP: $260

Natural resources: uranium, coal, iron, tin, phosphates

Agriculture: millet, sorghum, peanuts, beans, cotton



NIGERIA



Area in square kilometers (miles): 923,768 (356,699)

Climate: tropical to semiarid

Capital (population): Lagos (2,700,000)

Population: 107,250,000

Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 129

Languages: official: English; also: Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, (the Nigerian government recognizes 250 languages)

Religion(s): 47% Muslim; 34% Christian; 19% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 46%

Adult literacy rate: 42%

Government type: federal republic under military government control

Independence date: Oct. 1, 1960; from Great Britain

Head of state: President Ibrahim Babangida

Per capita GNP: $640

Natural resources: oil, minerals, timber

Agriculture: cotton, cocoa, rubber, yams, cassava, sorghum, palm kernels, millet, corn, rice, livestock

RWANDA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 26,338 (10,169)

Climate: temperate

Capital (population): Kigali (156,700)

Population: 6,505,000

Life expectancy at birth: 48 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 124

Languages: official: French, Kinyarwanda, also: Kiswahili

Religion(s): 54% Christian; 45% traditional indigenous; 1% Muslim

School-age population in school: 34%

Adult literacy rate: 57%

Government type: republic

Independence date: July 1, 1962; from Belgium

Head of state: President (Maj. Gen.) Juvenal Habyarimana

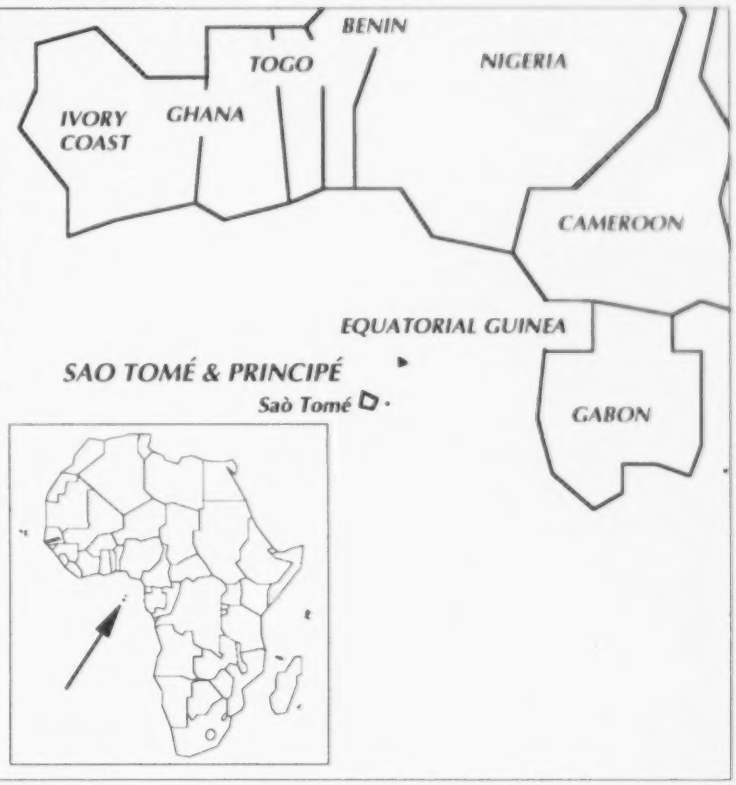
Per capita GNP: $290

Natural resources: tungsten, tin, cassiterite

Agriculture: coffee, tea, pyrethrum, beans, potatoes

SÀO TOMÉ AND PRINCIPE

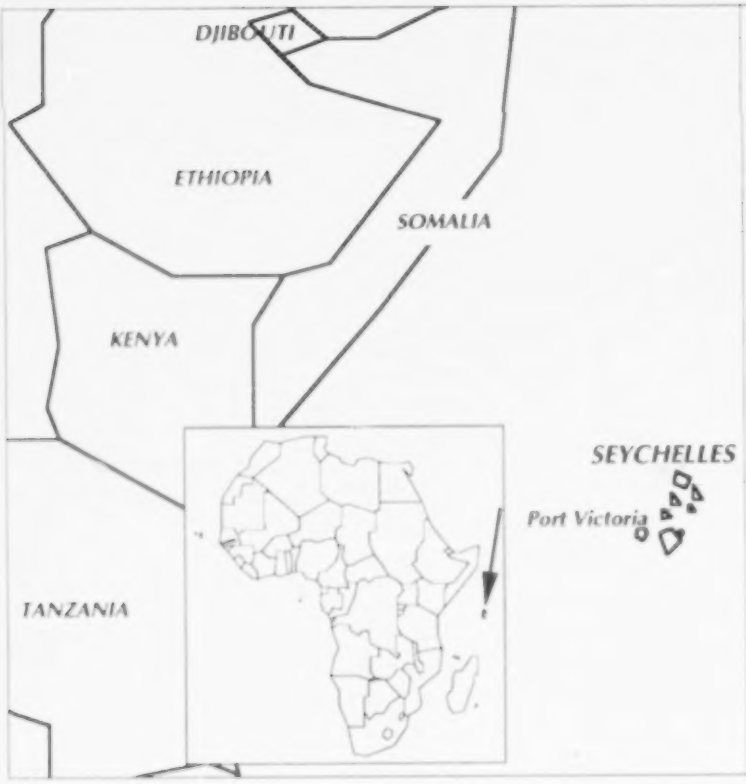
Area in square kilometers (miles): 964 (372)
Climate: tropical
Capital (population): Sào Tomé (25,000)
Population: 111,000
Life expectancy at birth: 65 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 50
Languages: official: Portuguese; other: Kriolu
Religion(s): 80% Christian; 20% traditional indigenous
School-age population in school: n/a
Adult literacy rate: 58%
Government type: republic
Independence date: July 12, 1975; from Portugal
Head of state: President Manuel Pinto da Costa
Per capita GNP: $340
Natural resources: fish
Agriculture: cacao, coconut palms, coffee, bananas, palm kernels



SENEGAL

Area in square kilometers (miles): 196,722 (75,955)
Climate: tropical to semiarid
Capital (population): Dakar (1,341,000)
Population: 6,800,000
Life expectancy at birth: 44 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 138
Languages: official: French; also: Wolof, Fula, Oyola, Mandinka, Sarakole, Serere
Religion(s): 75% Muslim; 20% traditional indigenous; 5% Christian
School-age population in school: 29%
Adult literacy rate: 28%
Government type: republic
Independence date: April 4, 1960; from France
Head of state: President Abdou Diouf
Per capita GNP: $420
Natural resources: fish, phosphates
Agriculture: millet, sorghum, peanuts, manioc, rice, cotton

SEYCHELLES



Area in square kilometers (miles): 443 (175)
Climate: subtropical; marine
Capital (population): Port Victoria (23,012)
Population: 70,000
Life expectancy at birth: 70 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 26
Languages: official: English, French; other: Creole
Religion(s): 98% Christian; 2% other
School-age population in school: n/a
Adult literacy rate: 58%
Government type: people's republic
Independence date: June 28, 1976; from Great Britain
Head of state: President France Albert René
Per capita GNP: $1,938
Natural resources: fish
Agriculture: vanilla, coconuts, cinnamon

SIERRA LEONE

Area in square kilometers (miles): 72,325 (27,952)
Climate: tropical
Capital (population): Freetown (500,000)
Population: 3,900,000
Life expectancy at birth: 38 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 198
Languages: official: English; also: Krio, Temne, Mende, Val, Kru, Fula, Mandinka
Religion(s): 70% traditional indigenous; 25% Muslim; 5% Christian
School-age population in school: 34%
Adult literacy rate: 29%
Government type: republic
Independence date: April 27, 1961; from Great Britain
Head of state: President Joseph Saidu Momoh
Per capita GNP: $310
Natural resources: diamonds, bauxite, rutile, chromite, iron ore
Agriculture: coffee, cocoa, ginger, rice, piassava

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SOMALIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 637,657 (246,201)

Climate: arid to semiarid

Capital (population): Mogadishu (600,000)

Population: 7,935,000

Life expectancy at birth: 41 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 153

Languages: official: Somali; also: Arabic, Oromo, Italian, English, others

Religion(s): 99% Muslim; 1% other

School-age population in school: 11%

Adult literacy rate: 12%

Government type: people's republic under military rule

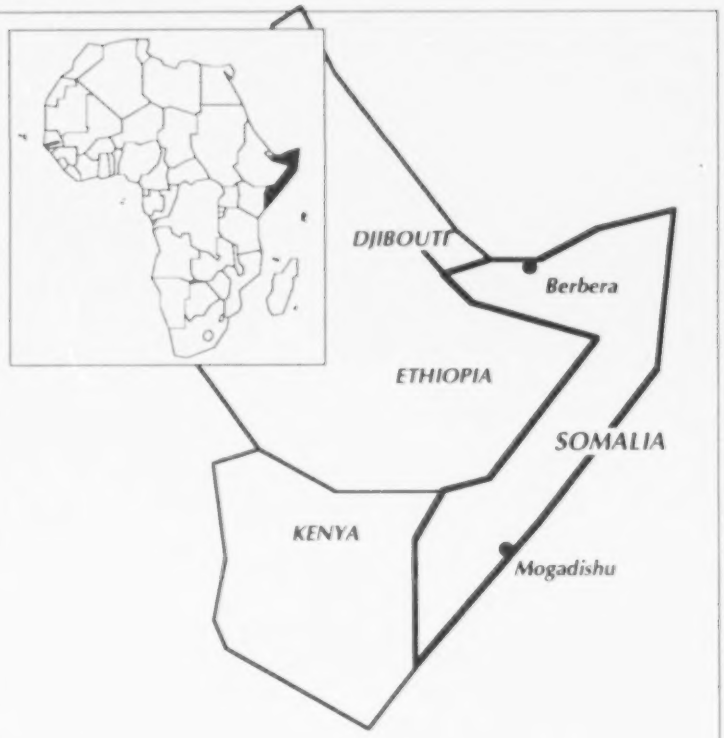
Independence date: July 1, 1960; from Italy

Head of state: Maj. Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre

Per capita GNP: $280

Natural resources: uranium, timber, fish

Agriculture: livestock, bananas, sugar cane, cotton, cereals



SOUTH AFRICA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 1,222,042 (433,680)

Climate: temperate, semiarid, arid

Capital (population): Pretoria (administrative) (1,000,000); Cape Town (legislative) (1,700,000); Bloemfontein (judicial) (230,688)

Population: 33,585,000

Life expectancy at birth: African women 60 yrs.; White women 74 yrs.; African men 55 yrs; White men 67 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): Africans 90; Coloureds 62; Indians 24; Whites 13.

Languages: official: Afrikaans, English; also: Xhosa, Zulu, Sesotho, Tswana,

Religion(s): 81% Christian; 19% Hindu and Muslim

School-age population in school: 55%*

Adult literacy rate: Africans 50%, Whites 85%

Government type: republic; apartheid state

Independence date: May 31, 1910; from Great Britain

Head of state: Pres. Frederik W. deKlerk

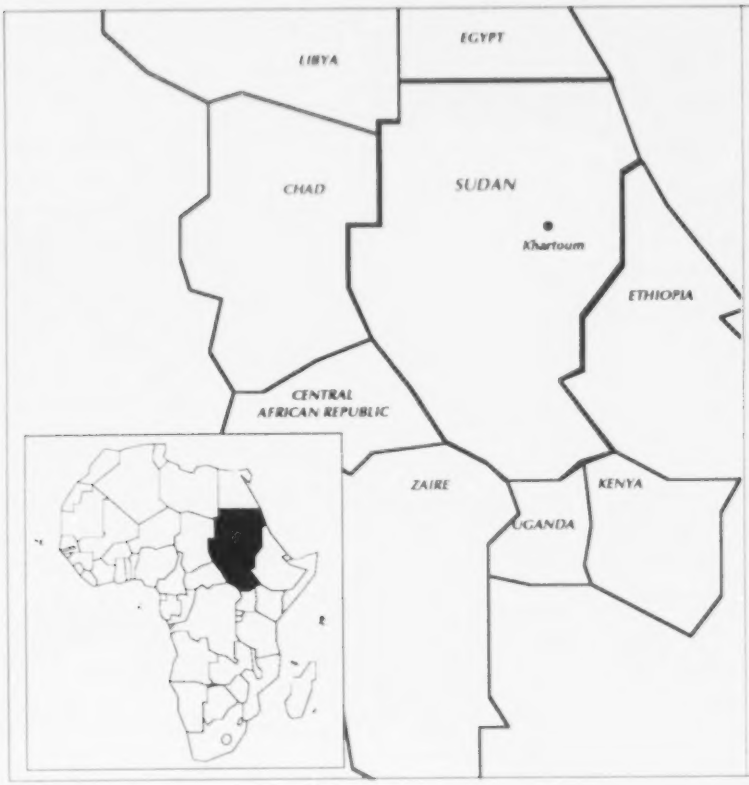
Per capita GNP: $1,850*

Natural resources: gold, diamonds, all essential minerals except oil, fish

Agriculture: corn, wool, dairy products, wheat, sugar cane, tobacco, citrus fruits

*figures for Africans and Whites vary greatly

SUDAN



Area in square kilometers (miles): 2,505,813 (967,500)

Climate: desert in north; tropical in south

Capital (population): Khartoum (1,250,000)

Population: 23,730,000

Life expectancy at birth: 48 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 116

Languages: official: Arabic; also: Nuer, Dinka, Shilluki, Masalatis, Fur, Nubian, English

Religion(s): 70% Muslim; 25% traditional indigenous; 5% Christian

School-age population in school: 27%

Adult literacy rate: 31%

Government type: republic

Independence date: Jan. 1, 1956; from Great Britain

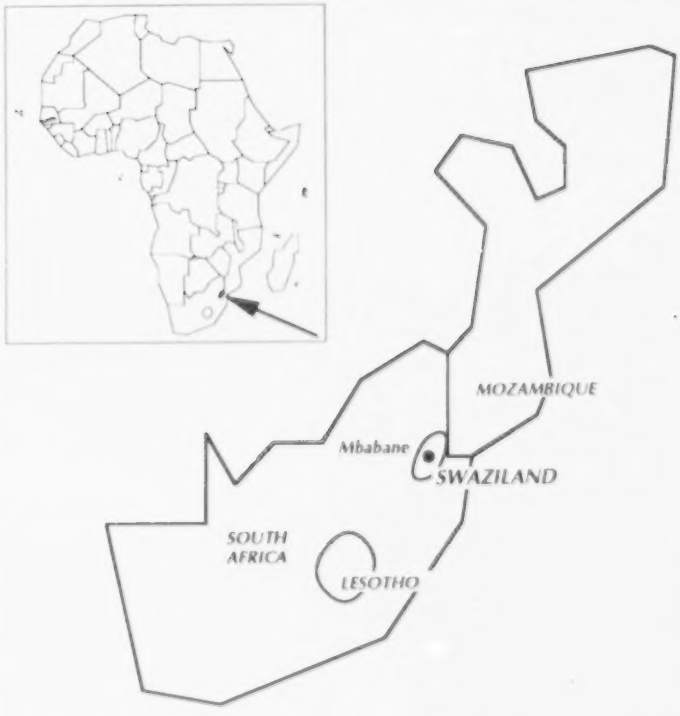
Head of state: Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir; 5-member Supreme Council

Per capita GNP: $320

Natural resources: oil, iron ore, copper, chrome, other metals

Agriculture: cotton, peanuts, sesame, gum arabic, sorghum, wheat

SWAZILAND



Area in square kilometers (miles): 17,364 (6,704)

Climate: temperate, semiarid

Capital (population): Mbabane (33,000)

Population: 700,000

Life expectancy at birth: 49 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 133

Languages: official: English, Siswati; also: Zulu, Sesotho, Nguni

Religion(s): 53% Christian; 47% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 67%

Adult literacy rate: 68%

Government type: monarchy

Independence date: Sept. 6, 1968; from Great Britain

Head of state: King Mswati III

Per capita GNP: $900

Natural resources: iron ore, asbestos, coal, timber

Agriculture: corn, livestock, sugar cane, citrus fruits, cotton, rice, pineapples

TANZANIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 945,087 (364,900)

Climate: tropical, arid, temperate

Capital (population): Dar es Salaam (757,346)

Population: 22,810,000

Life expectancy at birth: 51 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 111

Languages: official: Kiswahili; also: Chagga, Gogo, Ha, Haya, Luo, Maasai, Hindu, Arabic, English

Religion(s): 40% traditional indigenous; 30% Christian; 30% Muslim

School-age population in school: 44%

Adult literacy rate: 85%

Government type: republic

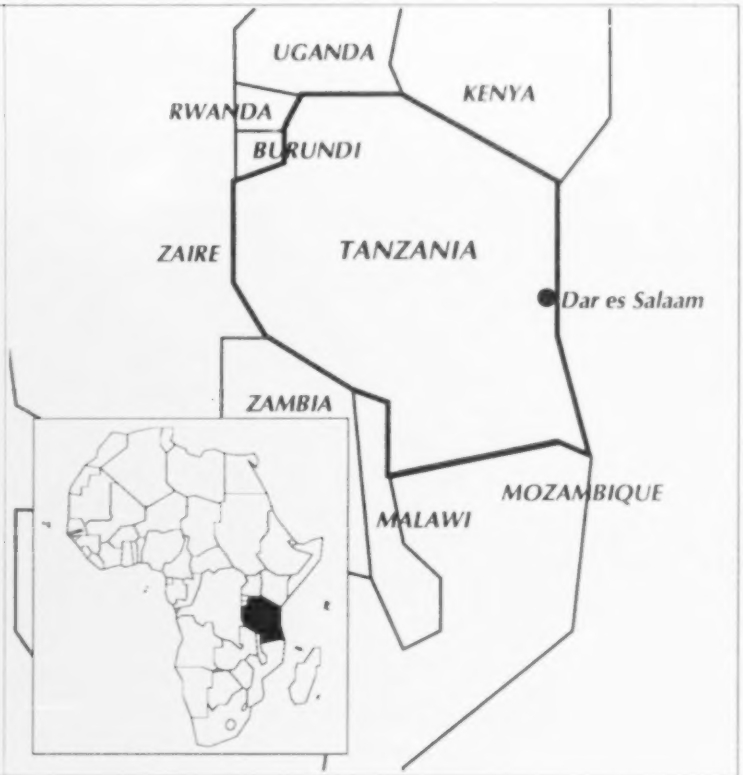
Independence date: Dec. 9, 1961; from Great Britain

Head of state: Ali Hassan Mwinyi

Per capita GNP: $250

Natural resources: hydroelectric potential, iron, coal, gem stones, gold, natural gas

Agriculture: cotton, coffee, sisal, tea, tobacco, wheat, cashews, livestock, cloves



TOGO

Area in square kilometers (miles): 56,785 (21,925)

Climate: tropical .

Capital (population): Lomé (369,926)

Population: 3,165,000

Life expectancy at birth: 51 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 107

Languages: official: French; also: Ewe, Mina, Dagomba, Kabye, others

Religion(s): 60% traditional indigenous; 20% Christian; 20% Muslim

School-age population in school: 49%

Adult literacy rate: 41%

Government type: republic under military rule

Independence date: April 27, 1960; from France

Head of state: President (Gen.) Gnassingbé Eyadéma

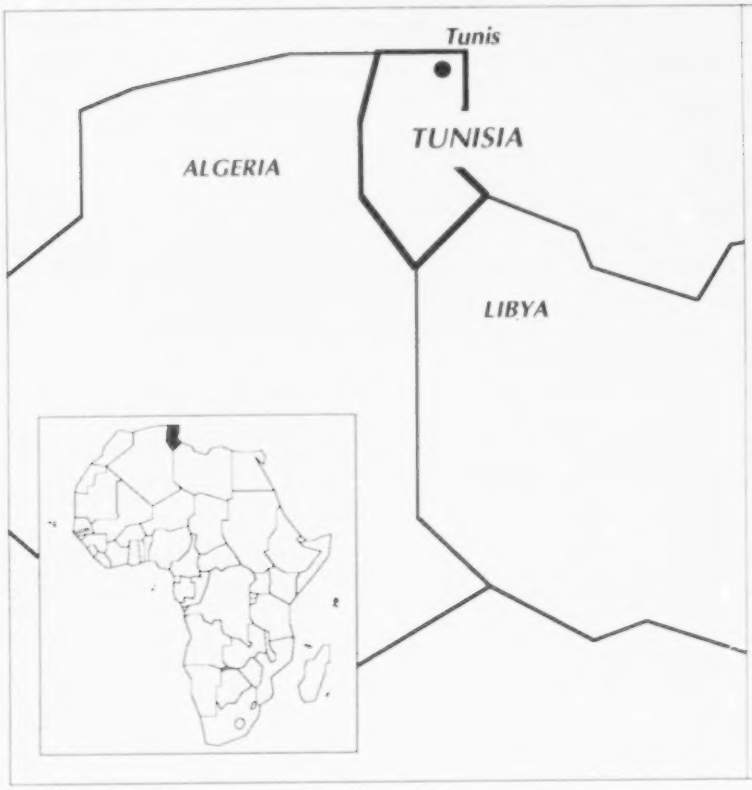
Per capita GNP: $250

Natural resources: phosphates, limestone

Agriculture: yams, manioc, millet, sorghum, cocoa, coffee, rice

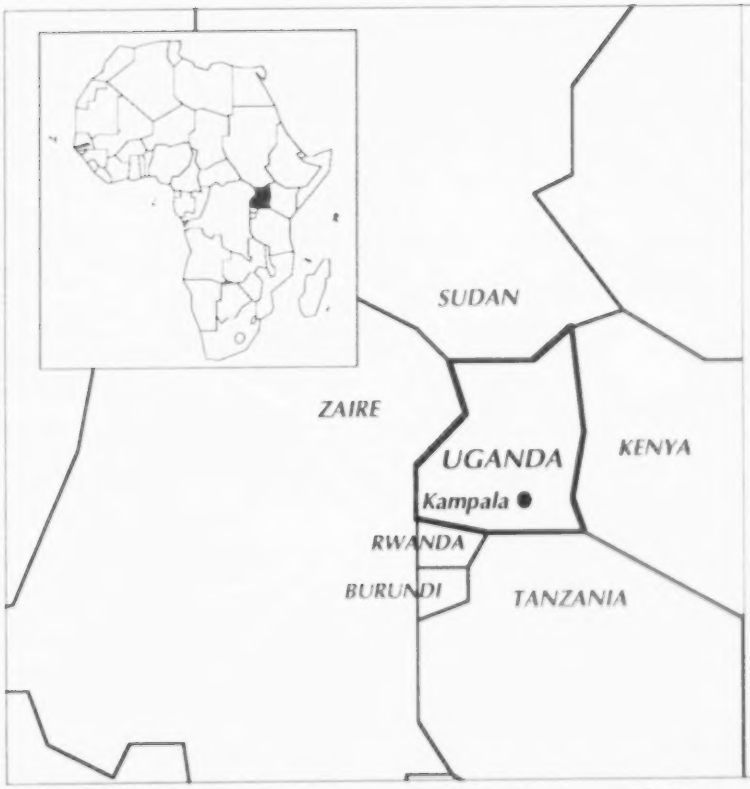
230

TUNISIA



Area in square kilometers (miles): 163,610 (63,170)
Climate: mediterranean, temperate to arid
Capital (population): Tunis (550,404)
Population: 7,500,000
Life expectancy at birth: 61 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 79
Languages: official: Arabic; also: French, Berber dialects
Religion(s): 99% Muslim; 1% other
School-age population in school: 61%
Adult literacy rate: 54%
Government type: republic
Independence date: March 20, 1956; from France
Head of state: Pres. Zine el-Aidine Ben Ali
Per capita GNP: $1,140
Natural resources: crude oil, natural gas, phosphates, iron ore, lead, zinc,
Agriculture: wheat, barley, olives, citrus fruits, grapes, fish, livestock

UGANDA



Area in square kilometers (miles): 236,036 (93,104)
Climate: tropical to semiarid
Capital (population): Kampala (458,500)
Population: 15,505,000
Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 110
Languages: official: English; also: Kiswahili, Luganda, Aleso, Soga, Luo, Lugbara, Nyakole, Nyoro, others
Religion(s): 50% Christian; 40% traditional indigenous; 10% Muslim
School-age population in school: 38%
Adult literacy rate: 57%
Government type: republic
Independence date: October 9, 1962; from Great Britain
Head of state: Pres. Yoweri Museveni
Per capita GNP: $230
Natural resources: copper, other minerals
Agriculture: coffee, tea, cotton

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WESTERN SAHARA*

Area in square kilometers (miles): 266,770 (102,703)

Climate: temperate to arid

Capital (population): El Aaiun (20,010)

Population: 142,000

Life expectancy at birth: n/a

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): n/a

Languages: official: Arabic; also: Spanish, Berber dialects

Religion(s): Muslim

School-age population in school: n/a

Adult literacy rate: 20%

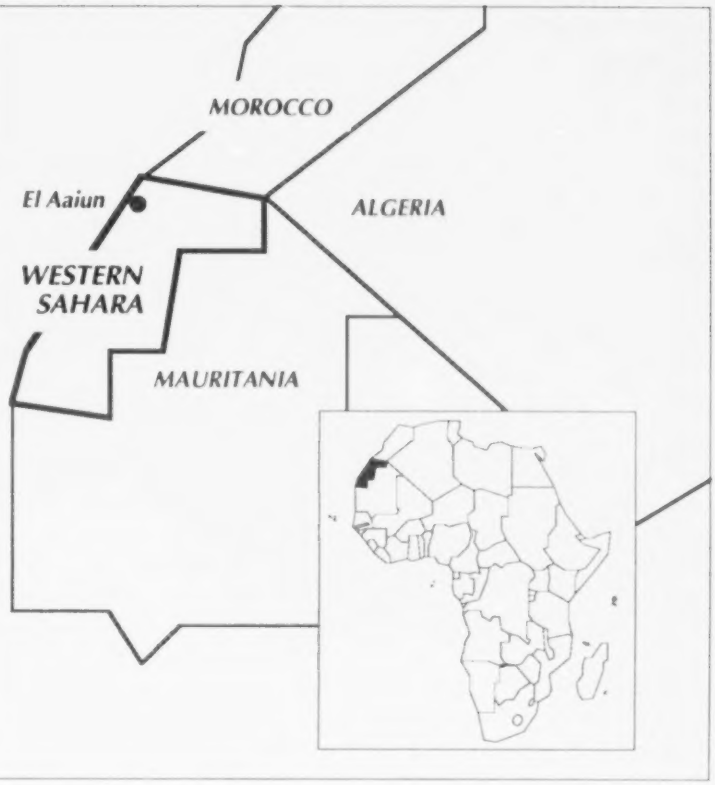
Head of POLISARIO: Mohamed Abdelaziz

Per capita GNP: n/a

Natural resources: phosphate, iron ore, fish

Agriculture: camels, sheep, goats

* Due to its enormous phosphate and possible petroleum deposits, neighboring states have put claims on the Western Sahara since Spain pulled out in 1975. In 1979, Morocco moved to annex the whole territory by force, and still maintains control over the major northwest area. On Feb. 27, 1976, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Segula el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) proclaimed SADR an independent state. Since 1984 SADR has been recognized as a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).



ZAIRE

Area in square kilometers (miles): 2,345,409 (905,568)

Climate: equatorial, tropical

Capital (population): Kinshasa (2,653,558)

Population: 32,900,000

Life expectancy at birth: 50 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 106

Languages: official: French; also: Kiswahili, Lingala, Azande, Luba, Chokwe, Songye, Kongo, Kuba, Lunda, Bemba, Alur, many others

Religion(s): 50% Christian, 50% traditional indigenous

School-age population in school: 60%

Adult literacy rate: 61%

Government type: republic under centralized presidential control

Independence date: June 30, 1960; from Belgium

Head of state: Pres. Marshal Mobutu Sésé Séko

Per capita GNP: $160

Natural resources: copper, cobalt, zinc, diamonds, manganese, tin, gold, rare metals, bauxite, iron, coal, hydroelectric potential, timber

Agriculture: coffee, palm oil, rubber, tea, cotton, cocoa, manioc, bananas, plantains, corn, rice, sugar

ZAMBIA

Area in square kilometers (miles): 752,614 (290,586)

Climate: tropical to subtropical

Capital (population): Lusaka (641,000)

Population: 965,000

Life expectancy at birth: 52

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 100

Languages: official: English; also: Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi

Religion(s): 51% Christian; 48% tradi-tional indigenous; 1% Hindu, Muslim

School-age population in school: 56%

Adult literacy rate: 76%

Government type: republic

Independence date: Oct. 24, 1964; from Great Britain

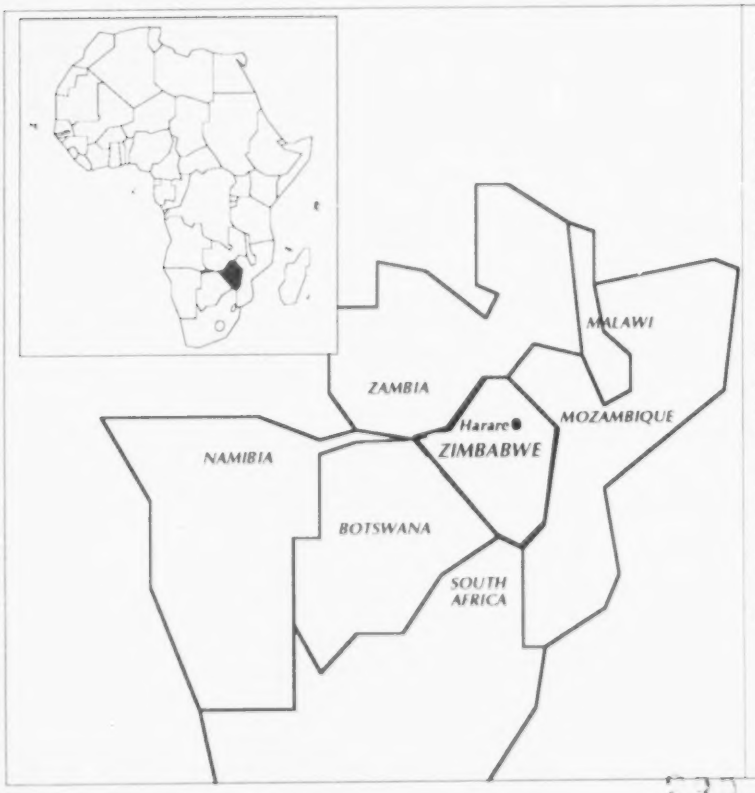
Head of state: Pres. Kenneth David Kaunda

Per capita GNP: $300

Natural resources: copper, zinc, lead, cobalt, coal

Agriculture: corn, tobacco, cotton, peanuts, sugar cane

ZIMBABWE



Area in square kilometers (miles): 390,580 (150,873)

Climate: subtropical

Capital (population): Harare (656,000)

Population: 8,800,000

Life expectancy at birth: 56 yrs.

Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births): 80

Languages: official: English; also: Shona, Ndebele

Religion(s): 75% Christian; 24% traditional indigenous; 1% Muslim

School-age population in school: 79%

Adult literacy rate: 74%

Government type: republic

Independence date: April 18, 1980; from Great Britain

Head of state: President Robert Mugabe

Per capita GNP: $620

Natural resources: gold, chrome ore, coal, copper, nickel, iron ore, silver, asbestos

Agriculture: tobacco, corn, sugar, cotton, livestock

Chronology of Key Events in African History

BC
c.2900-2877
First pyramid constructed at Giza by Pharoah Cheops.
c.600
Iron-working brought to Africa.
c.575
Ethiopia, using iron weapons, becomes the most powerful state of the Middle East and North Africa.
c.350
Origins of earliest known Iron Age culture south of Sahara (Nok Culture of Nigeria).

Early trans-Saharan trade between the Sudan and North Africa by way of Berber middlemen.
c.300
Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria become part of the Roman empire.

AD
c.400
First settlements at site of Great Zimbabwe.
640
Arabs enter Egypt, take Babylon (Cairo), 641.
c.750
Ghana empire in West Africa at its height.
c.800
Swahili East Africa coastal culture in formative period.

First Muslim settlements on east coast off Kenyan seaboard at Lamu.

Earliest southward penetration of Islam from Morocco and Central Maghreb.

Origins of Yoruba and Hausa states in western and northern Nigeria.
c.1040-1050
Amoravid empire in northwest Africa and southern Spain at its height.
c.1140-1200
Almohad empire in North Africa and southern Spain at its height.
c.1230-1255
Mali empire in West Africa at its height under King Sundiata Keita.
c.1280
Swahili ports engaged in long-distance trade between inland gold and ivory producers.
1331
Ibn Battuta visits Kilwa and finds it a strong and wealthy trading city.
c.1400
Wolof empire well-established in Senegal.
1443
First slaves for Portugal taken directly from African peoples south of Morocco; European slave trade begins.
1493-1528
Reign of Askia Mohammed I; Songhay empire at its height.
1482
First Portuguese fort and training post established on Guinea coast at San Jorge da Mina (Elmina).
1505
Portuguese burn Kilwa, continue ravages up the coast; Swahili city ports begin decline.
c.1510
Spanish colonies in tropical America begin to be supplied with slaves from Africa; the trans-Atlantic slave trade opens.
1507-1543
Reign of Bakongo King Afonso I.
1517
Ottoman Turks complete conquest of Egypt.
1575
Conquistador Paulos Dias de Novais sets up base at Loanda, defeats Bakongo armies, begins Portuguese conquest of Angola.
c.1600
Niger delta peoples organize themselves into trading states as landward partners of European maritime traders. This develops into large and continuing sale of captives for enslavement in the Americas.
1637
Dutch take Elmina, end of Portuguese control on Gold Coast.
1652
First European settlement in South Africa; Dutch establish small settlement at Cape of Good Hope as way station to the East.
1680
Ashanti (Asante) found strong state in forest of central Ghana.
1787
Sierra Leone founded.
1798
Napoleon invades Egypt.

French African communes (Dakar, St. Louis, Gorée) granted representation in French parliament.
1804-1811
Jihad of Fulani reformer, Usuman dan Fodio, leads to Fulani hegemony over most of northern Nigeria under Mohammad Bello.
1807
British ban Atlantic slave trade followed by United States in 1808, Holland 1814, and France in 1818.
1821
Plan developed for freed slave colony at Liberia.
1830
French begin occupation of Algeria.
1847
Liberia becomes independent black republic.
1854
The French, under Louis Faidherbe, begin conquest of the Senegal basin.
c.1863
Tucolor empire of al-Hajj Umar at its height.
1869
Suez Canal opened.
1878
Cocoa production begun in West Africa; a Ghanaian, Tetteah Quarshie, brings several pods to Ghana from Fernando Po.

Zulus defeat British at Isandhlwana.
c.1880
Mandinka empire of Samory Touré at its height.
c.1881
Mohammad Ahmad proclaims himself *Mahdi* in the Sudan; embarks on recovery of indigenous power.
1884-1885
Berlin Conference of imperialist powers catalyzes colonial partition of Africa.
c.1899
Anglo-Afrikaner (Boer) War begins.
1910
Union of South Africa constituted.
1916-1918
Germany loses African colonies; these are placed under French or British administration by the

1925
Portuguese complete colonial occupation of inland Angola and Mozambique.
1936
Italy attacks and conquers Ethiopia.
1941
Italy evicted from Ethiopia; Emperor Haile Selassie restored to his throne.
1944
Brazzaville (French Congo) conference of colonial administrators, called by Gen. de Gaulle, lays out plans for reorganization of French empire.
1946
First French post-war constitution provides for African representation in the French parliament, and for elected local (African) legislative assemblies.
1948
Afrikaner National Party comes to power in South Africa; apartheid system, based on existing system of discrimination, becomes legalized.
1952
Free Officers overthrow Egyptian King Farouk; Gamal Abdel Nasser becomes president in 1954.
1954
Algerians begin war of independence.
1955
Gikuyu peasant uprising in Kenya (Mau-Mau) is defeated by British; an estimated 13,000 African lives are lost.
1956
Suez War; following nationalization of Suez Canal by Pres. Nasser of Egypt, Britain, France, and Israel attack Egypt; political pressure by the U.S. ends war before canal is taken.
1957
Ghana becomes independent.
1958
Constitution of Fifth French Republic opens door for independence of French African colonies; Guinea votes "*non*" on constitutional referendum and gains immediate independence.
1960
Seventeen African states become independent.

Sharpeville massacre in South Africa; 69 blacks killed by police, many more wounded.

Belgian Congo (now Zaire) becomes independent; Prime Minister Lumumba assassinated; Katanga province (now Shaba) secedes, and UN intervenes to end Katangan revolt and restore order.
1961
Tanzania becomes independent; Angolan nationalist uprising signals beginning of anti-colonial wars in Portuguese Africa.
1963
Military seizes power in Togo; first post-independence *coup d'état* in sub-Saharan Africa.

Organization of African Unity (OAU) founded at Addis Ababa.
1965
Rhodesian whites rebel against Britain, declare unilateral independence under their own constitution.
1966
Military coup ousts Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana.

First of four military coups ends civilian rule in Nigeria; Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa and other civilian leaders assassinated.
1967-1970
Nigerian civil war due to secession of Ibo-dominated "Biafra" (Eastern Nigeria).
1967
Spain pulls out of Western Sahara, leaving it to be divided between Morocco and Mauritania; guerilla war by Sahroui rebels involves Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, and Libya.
1971
Gen. Idi Amin seizes power in Uganda, begins eight years of brutal rule.
1974
Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia deposed in military coup.
1975
Revolution in Portugal, African resistance leads to independence for Angola and Mozambique.
Libya occupies northern Auzou Strip of Chad.
1976
Violent demonstrations by blacks in Soweto township spark disorders throughout South Africa.
1977-1978
Shaba I and II: invasions of Zairian Shaba (ex-Katanga) Province from Angola repulsed by Mobutu government with Moroccan help.

Military conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia in Ogaden area; Somalis are repulsed by Ethiopians backed by the USSR and Cuban troops.
1979
Civil War begins in Chad involving Libya and eventually (in 1983) results in *de facto* partition of country between Libyan-backed and French-backed factions.

Three tyrants forced out of power: Idi Amin of Uganda toppled after Tanzanian intervention; "Emperor" Bokassa I (Central African Empire/Republic) removed by French intervention; Macias Nguema (Equatorial Guinea) ousted, then executed, after military coup.
1980
Robert Mugabe becomes prime minister of Zimbabwe following collapse of white-led government.

First military coup in Liberian history removes Pres. Tolbert; Tolbert and various Liberian leaders killed.
1981
Anwar Sadat, successor to Nasser, assassinated in Egypt by Muslim fundamentalists.

Eritrean secessionist factions enter 20th year of armed resistance to Ethiopian rule.
1983
Nigeria expels over one million "illegal aliens" (mostly Ghanaians) from neighboring African countries.
1983-1984
South Africa initiates new constitutional arrangements in which Coloreds and Indians are given nominal representation in parliament and government; most boycott referendum on new constitution because blacks not given any voice.
1984
Sékou Touré of Guinea dies; shortly thereafter Guinean military takes over in bloodless coup.
1985
(April) Nineteen blacks shot dead in South Africa during demonstrations attending commemoration of 25th anniversary of Sharpeville massacre; period of general unrest begins.
1985
(July) State of emergency proclaimed by South African government following period of unrest and violence; 600 people detained.

Profiles of African Regional Organizations

ECOWAS

Economic Community of West African States

DESCRIPTION: Economic community of 16 West African states forming a solid geographical bloc stretching from Mauritania to Niger and covering all coastal countries as far as Nigeria.

It aims to form a common market over 15 years with import duties eliminated. Members losing import duty (particularly the poorer states) to be compensated from a Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development. Other aims are eventual free movement of people, services and capital, the harmonisation of agricultural policies, promotion of common projects, joint development of economic and industrial policies and elimination in disparities in levels of development and common monetary policies.

From 28 May 1979 no member state was allowed to increase its customs tariff on goods from another member. This was the first step towards the total abolition of tariffs within the Community. Quotas and other restrictions on intra-community trade were to be abolished within ten years. All differences with external customs tariffs would then be abolished in the ensuing five years.

The 1980 Heads of State conference established free trade for unprocessed agricultural goods and handicrafts from May 1981. An eight year timetable for liberalising trade in industrial products was also established.

The 1983 Heads of State conference started studies on the formation of a single ECOWAS monetary zone.

ORGANISATION: Authority of Heads of State and Government meets once a year. Chairman drawn from each state in turn. Council of Ministers consists of two representatives from each country. Meets twice a year. **Executive Secretariat:** Lagos, Nigeria. **Fund for Cooperation,** Lome, Togo.

HISTORY: The idea for a West African community goes back to President William Tubman of Liberia, who made the call in 1964. An agreement was signed between Liberia, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Sierra Leone in February 1965, but this came to nothing. In 1967 the Economic Commission for Africa sponsored a series of regional meetings which resulted on 4 May 1967, in draft articles of association for a West African economic community. The Heads of State met in Monrovia a year later, in April 1968, and signed a protocol, establishing the West African Regional Group (WARG) but none of its subsidiary organisations met.

In April 1972, General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo re-launched the idea, drew up proposals and toured in 12 countries, soliciting their plan from July to August 1973. A meeting was then called at Lomé, from 10-15 December 1973, which studied a draft treaty. This was further examined at a meeting of experts and jurists in Accra in January 1974 and by a ministerial meeting in Monrovia in January 1975.

Finally, the treaty for an Economic Community of West African States was signed on 28 May 1975, by 15 West African countries. Even Senegal, which had stood out for a wider community to include Zaire and other central African states, signed.

The ratification of the protocols launching ECOWAS were signed in Lome, Togo on 5 November 1976.

At the seventh ECOWAS summit held in Lome on 22 November 1984 the Heads of State called for the creation of a Special Fund to assist the recovery of sub-Saharan Africa.

MEMBERS: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

OFFICES: Executive Secretariat PMB12745, 6 King George V Road, Lagos, Nigeria. Tel 636841 Telex 22633 ECOWAS NG.

OFFICERS: President of the Council, Yao Grunitsky (Togo). **Secretary General,** Momodu Munu (Sierra Leone).

FUND FOR COOPERATION, COMPENSATION AND DEVELOPMENT: Avenue du 24 Janvier, Lome, Togo. Telex 5339 **Managing Director,** Mahanta Fall (Senegal).

OAU

Organisation of African Unity

DESCRIPTION: The most important and comprehensive of all Africa's political organisations, founded in 1963 to promote unity and solidarity among African states.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES:

Article II of the charter spells out the aims of the OAU:

1. To promote unity and solidarity among African states.
2. To intensify and coordinate efforts to improve living standards in Africa.
3. To defend sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states.
4. To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa.
5. To promote international cooperation, having regard to the charter of the UN.

ORGANISATION: Assembly of Heads of State, meets at least annually to coordinate policies. Resolutions passed by two thirds majority. Chairman is elected annually, traditionally the Head of State from host nation holding annual conference.

HISTORY: First proposals for African union go back to the early days of Pan Africanism. The first practical steps towards unity were taken after the independence of Ghana in 1957 and Guinea in 1958. These two countries together with all other states then independent met in Accra in April 1958, for the first conference of African states. They then drafted a charter for "Union of African states" in November 1958. This led to the charter adopted by the conference of Casablanca states in January 1961. This Casablanca charter is the politically radical root of the OAU.

Other groups of African states were working on their own proposals. The French speaking states in the "Brazzaville group" worked first for unity between themselves. The Entente council was formed by Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and Dahomey in May 1959. Other French speaking countries held three conferences which ended with the formation of the UAM, the Afro-Malagasy Union, in September 1961.

Meanwhile, President William Tubman of Liberia was canvassing a plan, not for political union (Casablanca style) but for a "community of independent African states". This was discussed at Saniquellie in Liberia in July 1959, at a much larger conference in Addis Ababa in June 1960 and at the Monrovia conference in May 1961. Here the majority of African states formed the Monrovia group and called for association that did not imply political integration.

This group summoned the Lagos conference in January 1962, (again boycotted by the Casablanca states) and adopted a Charter for an organisation of African states.

Finally, in May 1963, Emperor Haile Selassie persuaded the leaders of 30 independent African countries to attend the Addis Ababa meeting.

All 30 Heads of State signed the charter of the Organisation of African Unity on May 26, 1963. The remaining two independent states-Togo and Morocco-signed the treaty later. The charter was

a slightly modified version of the document approved in principle by the Lagos conference. It incorporated five principles laid down at Monrovia – absolute equality of all states, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the sovereignty of each state, condemnation of subversive action by neighbouring states and promotion of cooperation based on tolerance and the non-acceptance of personal leadership.

The establishment of the OAU led to the official winding up of the Casablanca and Monrovia groups, which meant that there was no inner grouping of English speaking states. But the French continued to maintain their Afro-Malagasy group, which changed from UAM to UAMCE in March 1964, and to OCAM in February 1965. The Entente Council, the first of all the Francophone groupings, has also been in existence since May 1959. But the French speaking states involved have also participated fully in the OAU.

In May 1980 the first economic summit resolved to take steps to establish an African Common Market by the year 2,000. The Lagos Plan of Action was the means to this end.

In February 1982 the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara) was admitted to the OAU following recognition by 26 out of the 50 members, but its membership was disputed by Morocco and 19 countries which walked out of the meeting. This led to a succession of boycotts which prevented the OAU from achieving a quorum at the 19th summit which was due to be held in Tripoli, Libya. In November 1982 a second attempt to hold the summit in Tripoli was abandoned. The summit was finally held in June 1983 in Addis Ababa when the SADR representatives agreed not to attend in order to avoid another boycott of the meeting.

In November 1984 a delegation from SADR was admitted to the summit.

In July 1985 the summit passed the Addis Ababa declaration in which members recommitted themselves to the Lagos Plan of Action, first passed in 1980. It was agreed to expand agriculture's share of public investment to between 20-25% by 1989.

MEMBERS: (51 states on accession of Western Sahara in February 1982)

Algeria
Angola
Benin (Dahomey)
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Central African Empire
Chad
Comoro Islands
Congo
Cote d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Egypt
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Morocco
Mozambique
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sudan
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Uganda
Western Sahara
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

OFFICES: Secretary, African Unity Hall, PO Box 3243 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

OFFICERS: Secretary General: Salim Salim (Tanzania)

PTA

Preferential Trade Area for East and Southern Africa

DESCRIPTION: A preferential trade area for the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa aiming to improve commercial and economic cooperation and eventually to create an economic community in the area. It is similar to the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa.

ORGANISATION: Summit meetings at Heads of State level are held annually-the first two in December 1982 and 1983. Ministerial council meetings are also held regularly. A secretariat was established in Lusaka. A clearing house for payments between members was established at the Reserve Bank in Zimbabwe.

HISTORY: The idea for an East African PTA was first mooted in 1975 by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). It was the particular concern of the ECA Executive Secretary Adebayo Adedeji. A draft treaty for the PTA was adopted on May 22, 1981 by 15 states. The treaty was signed on December 21, 1981 by nine countries, with others joining later.

MEMBERS: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

OFFICES: Secretariat, POB 30051, Lusaka, Zambia. Tel: 219880. Telex: 40127.

OFFICERS: Secretary General, Bax Nomvete.

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SADCC

Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

DESCRIPTION: Set up in July 1979 to harmonise economic development among the countries in Southern Africa and reduce their dependence on South Africa. Transport was seen as the most important area to be developed because, as the Lusaka Declaration had noted: "The dominance of South Africa has been reinforced by the transport system. Without the establishment of an adequate regional transport and communications system, other areas of co-operation became impractical." But attention is also being paid to regional energy planning, agriculture, disease control, manpower and development training, industrial co-ordination and regional food security.

ORGANISATION: A summit conference is called annually and is attended by Heads of State or their representatives. The Council of Ministers meets at least twice a year with additional special meetings to co-ordinate regional policy in a particular field.

HISTORY: The first meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference took place in Arusha, Tanzania on July 3 1979, in response to the need for the southern African states to free themselves from their dependence on South Africa. Botswana's President Seretse Khama called for the establishment of a southern African community which would bring about a new political and economic order in the region. The conference was attended by Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. The group was later joined by Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe. In April 1980 a regional economic summit was held in Lusaka, Zambia and adopted a strategy entitled "Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation." Different African countries were given responsibility for different economic sectors inside the regional whole.

A donors' conference was held in Maputo, Mozambique in November 1980 attended by representatives from 35 industrialised countries. They pledged $650m to be used for 97 development projects over the next five years.

In February 1982 the Ministers of Energy met to plan the establishment of a regional energy policy. The summit in July 1982 confirmed that $870m had been pledged to date. Three small development projects had been completed and 48 were under way. About 30 others were to be submitted to foreign aid donors for approval. Another donors' conference in January 1983 resulted in further pledges of $490m.

Funding amounting to $221m had been secured by July 1985, for industrial projects, and $729 for transport projects.

MEMBERS: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

OFFICES: Private Bag 0095, Gaborone, Botswana. Tel: 51863. Telex: 2555.

OFFICERS: Executive Secretary: Dr Simbarashe Makoni (Zimbabwe).

FAVDO: The Forum of African Voluntary Development Organisations

Description: This regional organization was established in May 1987 to affirm the role of African voluntary development organizations in Africa's development and assure that any resolution of the African development crisis takes into account the perspective of these development organizations.

Organization: Members meet every three years; the Governing Council (composed of the President, five Vice-Presidents representing the five sub-regions of Africa (North, South, East, West, and Central), the Secretary General, and seven members) meets every year. Headquarters are in Dakar, Senegal.

History: FAVDO's establishment is based on these facts: (1) the twentieth century has brought high expectations and aspirations to the millions of people of Africa for self-determination, national independence, freedom and social progress; (2) Africa's resources and available technology are adequate to provide for the basic needs of every man, woman and child in Africa; (3) despite the materials and technical capacity to banish poverty, starvation and hunger, the vast majority of Africans live in abject poverty.

FAVDO's objectives are: (1) to establish effective communication links and solidarity among its members; (2) to establish a forum for mutual support and cooperation among its members through effective exchange and sharing of experience, expertise, resources and facilities; (3) to assist members in the identification and mobilization of resources for development activities and provide guidelines for the rational utilization of such resources; (4) to generate resources to provide technical and professional assistance to members of FAVDO, especially in the area of program management and institution building; (5) to create an environment conducive to voluntary development organization initiatives; (6) to support and facilitate concerted initiatives by the African people in areas of development priorities towards the solution of common problems; (7) to establish an effective channel of communication with governments and inter-governmental organizations for the purposes of advocacy and partnership in development; (8) to create an information data bank and a clearinghouse process for disseminating information; (8) to encourage development projects that are culturally acceptable, environmentally sound, economically viable and sustainable.

Membership: open to all National African Voluntary development organizations working at the grassroots level; specialized African networks working at the subregional and regional level; and certain International African Voluntary Development Organizations who accept the obligation contained in the constitution.

Offices: FAVDO, B.P.12 085, Dakar, Senegal. Tel: 221 22 44 95.

Officers: President: Mazide N'Diaye (Senegal).

A Taste of Africa

Hot Plantain Crisps — Ghana

Many supermarkets now carry plantains alongside bananas in the produce section. If yours doesn't, look in an ethnic or specialty grocery.

4 plantains
4 tsp. lemon juice
4 tsp. ground ginger
4 tsp. cayenne pepper
oil for frying

Slice the plantains into rounds ¼-inch thick, and sprinkle lemon juice over the pieces, stirring to moisten. In a separate bowl, combine the ginger and pepper. Heat about ¼ inch of oil in a heavy skillet until a test piece of plantain sputters. Roll plantain pieces a few at a time in the spice mixture to coat surfaces, then transfer to the skillet. Fry until outsides are crisp and golden. With a slotted spoon, remove plantain to an absorbent cloth for cooling. Serve hot.

Mtuzi wa Samaki — Kenya

Baked Curried Fish

Serves 4

2 lbs. white fish, bones removed
3 large yellow onions, sliced
2 tblsp. oil
2 chili peppers or 1 tsp. cayenne pepper
3 cloves garlic
4 medium-size tomatoes, or 6 oz. tomato paste
½ cup white vinegar
½ tsp. ground cardamom
½ tsp. cumin
½ tsp. salt

Preheat oven to 350°. Lay the fish in a baking pan. Heat oil to a moderate temperature, and fry the onion slices until transparent. Arrange over the fish.

Combine the remaining ingredients in a blender or food processor until smooth. (Or crush chilies and garlic with a mortar and pestle and mash tomatoes well with a fork before combining with other ingredients.) Pour over fish, cover the pot, and simmer about 30 minutes until fish is just cooked.

Vegetable Mafé — Senegal

Serves 6-8

2 large onions, finely chopped
4 tblsp. peanut oil
2 cups pumpkin, winter squash, or sweet potatoes, peeled and chopped in chunks
4 turnips
4 medium potatoes, quartered
2 large carrots, chopped in chunks
½ of a small cabbage, coarsely chopped
2 large tomatoes, quartered
1 bunch of fresh leafy greens (spinach, Swiss chard, turnip greens, etc.), or 1 small package frozen greens
2 chili peppers, or 1 tsp. cayenne pepper
2 cups tomato sauce
¾ cup peanut butter

Brown the onions in moderately hot oil in a large, heavy skillet or stew pot. Add the vegetables, one at a time, sautéing each for a minute or so before adding another.

Stir in tomato sauce, along with about a cup of water, reduce heat, and simmer until all the vegetables are tender. Spoon out about half a cup of the hot broth and mix it with the peanut butter to make a smooth paste. Add to the pot, and simmer for another 10-15 minutes. Serve over rice or a stiff porridge (see recipes in the *Grains and Bread* chapter).

Maacouda With Potatoes — Tunisia

Both Maacouda and Meshwiya (see recipe in this section) are typical Tunisian hors d'oeuvres.

1 lb. potatoes
2 medium onions, finely chopped
3-4 oz. parsley, chopped
2 tblsp. butter
½ tsp. salt
¼ tsp. pepper
6 large eggs

Pre-heat the oven to 450°. Peel the potatoes and boil them until very soft; then drain and mash them well. Over low heat, sauté the onions and parsley in butter.

Meanwhile, grease the sides and bottom of a 10-inch round pan. When the onions are transparent, combine onions, parsley, butter, mashed potatoes, salt and pepper. Beat the eggs and stir them in. Pour the mixture into the greased pan and bake for 20 minutes. When slightly cooled, remove from the pan and slice.

240

Dovi

Zimbabwe

Peanut Butter Stew

Serves 4-6

2 medium onions, finely chopped
2 tblsp. butter
2 cloves garlic, finely sliced and crushed
1 tsp. salt
½ tsp. pepper
1 chili pepper or ½ tsp. cayenne pepper
2 green bell peppers, chopped
1 chicken, cut into pieces
3-4 fresh or canned tomatoes
6 tblsp. smooth peanut butter
½ lb. spinach or pumpkin leaves

In a large stew pot over moderate heat, sauté onions in butter until golden brown. Add garlic, salt, and hot peppers. Stir for 2 or 3 minutes, then add green peppers and chicken. When all the chicken pieces are brown on every side, mash tomatoes with a fork and mix them into the stew, along with about 2 cups of water. Reduce heat and simmer for 5-10 minutes.

Thin the peanut butter with a few spoons of hot broth and add half the resulting paste to the pot. Simmer until meat is well cooked. Meanwhile, boil spinach or pumpkin leaves for several minutes until tender. Drain, and toss with the remainder of the peanut butter paste. Serve stew and greens together.

Networking Within UUSC and Beyond

Moving a group from study to action is of course the ultimate goal of the *Introductory Guide to Africa*. Many groups will be taking on this program in different parts of the United States simultaneously. It will be important to keep track of each other's activities, findings, and progress. UUSC's Citizen Action Department will be an important linkage to information about participants in the various areas. In this connection, UUSC will circulate periodic up-dates, articles, and action suggestions to those wishing to keep informed and active on African issues. Contact us about your progress and resource needs. We also hope you will consider becoming a member of UUSC.

This program is one of many programs that have recently been developed to reach out to Americans about Africa. Many of them, like UUSC, are seeking to build a network of informed communities throughout the country. It may be useful to contact any of these groups to see what network they have established in your area. Your group may want to link up with some of their activities, or use some materials made available through them. Organizations currently implementing such programs include:

Women to Women: US-Africa Dialogues
OEF International
1815 H St. N.W. Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20006 (202) 466-3430

African Hunger and Development Module
Roosevelt Center for American Policy
316 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. (202) 547-7227

AFRICA Video, Inner City Program
The Africa Fund
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038 (212) 962-1210

African Development Education Outreach
Africare House
440 R St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 462-3614

Making a Difference
Africa News Service
P.O. Box 3851
Durham, N.C. 27702 (919) 286-0747

Youth Talking to Youth on Poverty Issues in Africa
Children's Express Foundation
20 Charles Street
New York, NY 10014 (212) 302-4988

Africa Public Policy and Education Program
Development Group for Alternative Policies
1400 I Street, N.W. Suite 520
Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 848-1566

Seeing Africa Through a New Perspective
Development Institute
African Studies Center/UCLA
Los Angles, CA 90024-1310 (213) 825-3070

Breakthrough on Hunger
Harvard Institute for International Development
One Eliot Street
Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2161

Global Exchange/Africa Exchange
2940 16th St., rm. 307
San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 648-7015

Worldwise 2000, A Decade for Global Understanding
International Development Conference
1401 New York Avenue, N.W. Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-3111

International Development Education Program
National Council of Negro Women
701 Fairfax Street
Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 684-5740

Project Bike-Aid
Overseas Development Network
P.O. Box 2306
Stanford, CA 94309 (415) 723-0802

The Africa Focus Project
YMCA/United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service
101 North Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606 (412) 227-3815

Sister Cities International
Technical Assistance Program
120 S. Payne St.
Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 836-3535

Eritrean Relief Committee
475 Riverside Dr. #769
New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2727

U.S. - South Africa Sister Community Project
2601 Mission St., suite 400
San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 824-2938

Children of War Religious Task Force
85 South Oxford St.
Brooklyn, NY 11217 (718) 858-6882

Anti-Apartheid Action Hotline (202) 546-0408
see also p. 183, Resolutions and Resources UUSC Social Responsibility Handbook at the UU church office

Mozambique Support Network
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 314
Chicago, IL 60604

African Studies Programs in U.S. colleges and universities:

Boston University African Studies Center
270 Bay State Rd.
Boston, MA 02215 (617) 353-7303 or 3673/4

Indiana University African Studies Program
Woodburn Hall 221
Bloomington, IN 47405 (812) 855-6825/8284

Michigan State University African Studies Center
100 International Center
East Lansing, MI 48824-1035 (517) 353-1700

Stanford University Center for African Studies
Institute for International Studies
Littlefield Center,
300 Lausen Street
Stanford, CA 94305-5013 (415) 723-0295

University of California
James S. Coleman African Studies Center
10244 Bunche Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1319 (213) 825-3686/3779

University of Florida Center for African Studies
427 Grinter Hall
Gainesville, FL 32611 (904) 392-2183

University of Illinois Center for African Studies
1208 W. California, rm 101
Urbana, IL 61801 (217) 333-6335
films: 1-800-367-3456
outreach: (217) 244-5457

University of Wisconsin African Studies Program
1454 Van Hise Hall
1220 Linden Drive
Madison, WI 53706 (608) 263-2171

Yale University Council on African Studies
85 Trumbull Street, Box 13A
New Haven, CT 06520 (203) 432-3438/3437

For information on other programs in African Studies in your area contact:
The Director
Association of African Studies Programs (AASP)
Department of Government and International Studies
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208 (803) 777-3108

Another idea for follow-up:

The Unitarian Universalist Assocation has recently developed a multimedia program on African Americans' Experience in Unitarian Universalism, entitled *How Open the Door?*

For more information, contact the UUA at:
25 Beacon St.
Boston, MA 02108 (617) 742-2100

Evaluation Form

Please use the outline below to evaluate your experience with the six-session program and send your evaluation to UUSC, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. Thank you!

I. Inputs

a. group members (number, gender, ethnic origin, socio-economic background, interests, education level, profession, religious affiliation)

b. materials (what kinds, source)

c. facilities and equipment (types, source) for sessions

d. financial resources (amounts, origin)

e. coalitions, linkages with other organizations, people

II. Process

a. How many meetings did participants attend?

b. Did the group follow the session activities as outlined?

c. What were the most/least effective aspects of session outlines?

d. What were the most/least effective aspects of the group processes? Did all participate?

e. What level of commitment to the program was there for the members?

III. Outputs

a. activities/events (what kinds, length and scope of activities, number and kinds of people involved, publicity, effectiveness)

b. short-run benefits

c. long-run benefits

d. future plans of the group

e. unexpected outcomes

Helpful Questions:

1. Did the six-session program build a stronger awareness about Africa and the role of Africa in your community?
2. Were the materials made available to you adequate?
3. Which other materials would you recommend using?
4. What modifications would you like to see in the next edition of the *Introductory Guide to Africa*?
5. Did you feel satisfied with the U.S.-Africa linkages that you discovered?
6. Did you learn more about your own community and its needs?
7. How did your choice of activities reflect the findings during the community inquiry?
8. List the five things that worked best in the program.
9. List the five things that worked least in the program.
10. What could be improved in the program? How would you suggest making such improvements?

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